



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

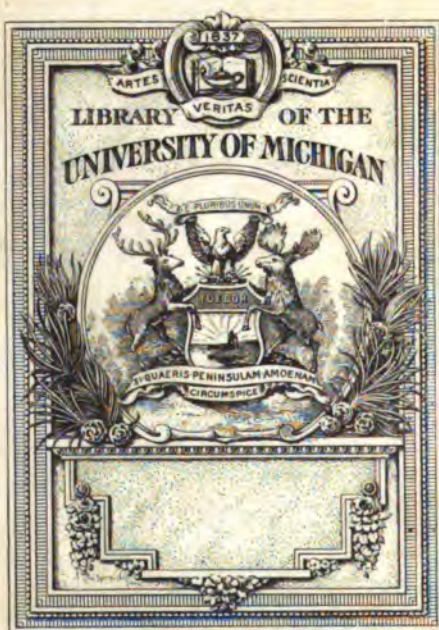
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

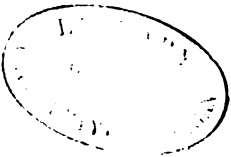


THIS BOOK
FORMS PART OF THE
ORIGINAL LIBRARY
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
BOUGHT IN EUROPE
1838 TO 1839
BY
ASA GRAY

80

DA
506
W9
A18
1836





Wm Pitt

Engraved by W. Howd from the Original by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

9547

16

THE

LIBRARY

VOL. IV.

1887

THE LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



3 - 414

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF

HIS OWN TIME.

BY

Thwait
SIR N. W. WRAXALL, BART.

Igitur ubi Animus requievit, non fuit Consilium Socordia atque Desidia bonum Otium conterere; neque vero Agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus Officiis intentum, Ætatem agere. Sed a quo incepto Studio me Ambitio mala detinuerat, eodem regressus, statui Res gestas carptim, ut quæque Memoria digna videbantur, perscribere: eo magis, quod mihi a Spe, Metu, Partibus Reipublicæ, Animus liber erat.

SALLUST.

NEW EDITION, REVISED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,

Publisher in Ordinary to His Majesty.

1836.

**London: Printed by Samuel Bentley,
Dorset-Street, Fleet-Street.**

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS

OF MY OWN TIME.

1783.

AMONG the Persons of Eminence who have "strutted their Hour," under the Reign of George the Third, and who about this Time disappeared from the great public Theatre, may be named General Sir John Irwine. His Person, Manners, and Conversation, were all made for the Drawing Room, where he seemed to be in his native Element. Though declining in Life, yet his Figure, tall, graceful, and dignified, set off by all the Ornaments of Dress, accompanied with a Ribband and a Star, rendered him conspicuous in every Company. He constantly reminded me of a Marshal of France, such as they are described by St. Simon, under Louis the Fourteenth. His Politeness, though somewhat formal, was nevertheless natural and

2 F



captivating. Perhaps, at least so his Enemies asserted, his military Talents were not equally brilliant with his personal Accomplishments ; but he had not risen the more slowly on that account, to the Honors, or to the Eminences, of his Profession. While he was yet only a School-boy, his Father, Lieutenant General Irwine, gave him a Company in his own Regiment, leaving him subsequently a very good Estate. Besides a Regiment, (the Sixth of Dragoon Guards,) and a Government, conferred on him by the Crown, he had held during several Years, the Post of Commander in Chief in Ireland, with very ample Appointments and Advantages. But, no Income, however large, could suffice for his Expences, which being never restrained within any reasonable Limits, finally involved him in irretrievable Difficulties. The Fact will hardly obtain Belief, that at one of the Entertainments which he gave to the Lord Lieutenant in the Year 1781, at Dublin, he displayed on the Table, as the principal Piece in the Dessert, a Representation of the Fortress of Gibraltar invested by the Spanish Forces, executed in Confectionary. It exhibited a faithful View of that celebrated Rock, so dear to the English Nation ; together with the Works, Batteries, and Artillery of the Besiegers, which threw Sugar-plumbs against the



Walls. The Expence of this ostentatious Piece of Magnificence, did not fall short of fifteen Hundred Pounds; and so incredible must the Circumstance appear; that if I had not received the Assurance of it from Lord Sackville, I should not venture to report it in these Memoirs.

The greatest Intimacy subsisted between that Nobleman and Sir John, who owed much of his Advancement and Success in Life, to the Protection of Lionel, Duke of Dorset. Lord Sackville's disinterested Friendship still continued to bring him into Parliament, as his own Colleague for East Grinstead, after Irwine's Return from Ireland, which took place on the Dissolution of Lord North's Administration, down to his final Departure from England. Decorated with the Order of the *Bath*, which then conferred much Distinction; and of which he never failed to display the Insignia whenever he went to the House of Commons, his personal Appearance was imposing. Even of a Morning, in his greatest Undress, he wore a small Star embroidered on his Frock, without which he rarely appeared any where; and his travelling Hussar Cloaks, bore the same brilliant Badge of Knighthood. No Man better knew the Value of external Figure, aided by Manner; and Philip, Earl of Chesterfield him-

self, had not more successfully studied the Graces. It was impossible to possess finer Manners, without any Affectation; or more perfect good Breeding. With such Pretensions of Person and of Address, it cannot surprize that he attained to a great Degree of Favor at St. James's. The King considered and treated Irwine, as a Person whose Conversation afforded him peculiar Gratification. He often delighted to protract the Discourse with a Courtier, whose Powers of Entertainment, however extensive, were always under the Restraint of profound Respect; and who never forgot the Character of the Prince whom he addressed, even for a single Moment. Irwine, though so fine a Gentleman, loved all the Indulgences of Conviviality, in which Gratifications he never restrained himself. The King, not unacquainted with these Particulars, having said to him one Day at the Drawing Room, - when conversing on his common Mode of Life, "they tell me, Sir John, that you love a Glass of Wine;" "Those, Sir, who have so reported of me to Your Majesty," answered he, bowing profoundly, "have done me great Injustice. "They should have said a Bottle."

Sir John Irwine's second Wife, a Daughter of the celebrated Physician Sir Edward Barry, who wrote with so much Elegance and In-

formation on the “Wines of the Ancients,” brought him no Issue ; but he afterwards contracted a third matrimonial Connexion. On his Return to England, his Debts became so numerous, and his Creditors so importunate, that, though as a Member of Parliament, his Person still remained secure, he found it impossible to reside longer with Comfort in London. Quitting therefore privately his elegant House in Piccadilly, opposite the Green Park, he retired to the Continent, with his Wife and two Children. Landing in France, he hired a *Chateau* in the Province of Normandy, where his military Rank and Decorations secured for him every Testimony of Respect from the surrounding Gentry. He nevertheless soon experienced such pecuniary Difficulties, that as he could nourish no Hope of ever revisiting his native Country, he removed over the Alps, into Italy. The King, who sincerely regretted his Departure from England, and who well knew the Causes of it, often expressed his Concern for Sir John Irwine’s Misfortunes ; which he endeavoured to alleviate by sending Sir John the Sum of a thousand Pounds from his Privy Purse, in two separate Payments. I know this Fact from the late Sir Charles Hotham ; who was, I think, himself, the Channel through which His Majesty transmitted the

first Donation of five Hundred Pounds. The second annual Payment reached Parma, on the Morning of Sir John Irwine's Decease. He expired in that City, towards the Close of May, 1788, where he enjoyed the Favour and even Intimacy of the Duke of Parma, and the Archduchess Amelia his Consort, who were then the reigning Princes. He had nearly attained his sixty-first Year, at the Time of his Death; and his characteristic Habits of Hospitality, accompanied with corresponding Expence, distinguished him to the last Moments of his Career. While resident at Parma, he kept open House for all Englishmen of Consideration who passed through the Place; and only a few Days previous to his Decease, he gave a Ball and Supper to the Sovereigns of Parma. Yet, all the Authority of the Duke was vainly exerted, to procure him the Rites of Christian Burial, it being opposed by the Priests of that bigoted Country. The Remains of Sir John Irwine were privately conveyed by Night, and deposited in the Court Yard of a Protestant Banker; the Funeral Service being read by an English Gentleman, and the Body being followed to the Grave, by the few Individuals of the same Nation who were then at Parma. Perhaps I ought here

to add, that Sir John Irwine's Widow and Children owed to the generous Interposition and personal Applications of the late Lord Melville, (then Mr. Dundas,) a Pension, which His Majesty granted them. Nor can I induce myself to omit, as it does the highest Honor to that Nobleman, that he obtained and forwarded to Lady Irwine, the Grant in Question, at a Time when she had vainly solicited it from all the Friends of her late Husband, while Mr. Dundas was hardly known to him as a common Acquaintance. Such Acts demonstrate an enlarged and magnanimous Mind.*

Lord John Cavendish, though he had negotiated and brought forward the *Loan* necessary to be raised, soon after he entered on Office; yet did not propose the Taxes which were to pay the Interest of it, until many Weeks later in the Session. He at length laid them before the House of Commons, where, on the whole, they appeared

* For these Particulars, as well as for the Correction of some Errors into which I had fallen relative to Sir John Irwine, I am indebted to the Lady of Captain Walker, of His Majesty's Royal Navy, Sir John's Daughter, who obligingly favored me with them, under her Hand.

to meet with general Approbation, and even attracted some Encomiums. But, Lord John, whose Talents were not eminently adapted for the Discussion of Measures of Finance, having stated his Ways and Means with tolerable Precision, left the Task of explaining and defending them, principally to his Associates in Power. Fox and Lord North, who undertook it with great Ability, repelled the Comments made from the Opposition Side of the House, on the new Taxes: while the Chancellor of the Exchequer, quitting his Seat on the Treasury Bench, retired during a considerable Part of the Debate, behind the Speaker's Chair; from which Retreat he peeped out on either Side, as Individuals rose, for the Purpose of approving or of censuring his *Budget*. Lord Mahon attacked it with his characteristic Impetuosity of Voice and Manner, accompanying his Comments with most severe Animadversions on Lord North's financial Plans, while he had remained at the Head of the Treasury. Fox defended his Colleague, both with the Arms of Reason and of Ridicule, which instantly brought forward Pitt. Between them the Discussion was maintained with equal Acrimony and Ingenuity, for a

long Time. Pitt not only repeated Lord Mahon's Assertions relative to Lord North's Taxes, which, he said, from their Impolicy had generally frustrated their intended Object; but, added, "The present *Budget* seems "to be of a similar Description. False or "erroneous Principles are assumed, in Order "to support the Measures adopted, which "the People of England are expected to "swallow as greedily, as *the Champion of "the People* has uttered them with Rapidity." Fox took his Revenge on the whole Cabinet of the Earl of Shelburne collectively, whom he designated "as incapable of financial Generation, as it was possible for Barrenness to be; having quitted their Employments, without leaving behind them "a Trace of any Loan or Taxes." Lord North directed the Shafts of his Wit principally against Lord Mahon, "whose Abilities," he observed, "being so great, without Experience, must, when matured by Time, render him a Prodigy, and an Ornament to his Country, at the Head of the "Exchequer."

Lord John Cavendish performed only a subordinate Part, throughout the whole Debate. His acknowledged Purity of Cha-

racter, when joined to his many Virtues; not to dwell on his high Descent; rendered him universally respected: and the Advantage which his Party derived from those Qualities, in the public Estimation, was incalculable. The Nation even seemed silently to demand some such Guarantee, when the Interests of the Country were committed to a Man of Fox's ruined Fortune, and dissipated Habits of Life. Mr. Pitt, it is true, who had been so recently placed at the Head of the Exchequer, scarcely possessed more Property than his Rival. But the People of England knew how to discriminate between their respective Deficiency. Pitt, though not more distinguished by Habits of Economy, than Fox, yet had not dissipated his small Paternal Fortune in any ostensible Vices: while Fox, besides a landed Estate, and a lucrative Office, both which he sold, had squandered an immense Sum of ready Money. Indeed, though Fox always appeared to me, whenever *Loans* or *Budgets* were discussed in Parliament, to display a Capacity for arithmetical Calculation, and all the Talents requisite for a Minister of Finance, scarcely, if at all inferior to Mr. Pitt's Ability in that Line; yet, I believe, it never occurred to any Man's Mind,

to place Fox in the Controul of the Treasury, or of the Exchequer, at any Period of his Life. Almost as well might Henry the Fifth have placed Falstaff there. Fox himself seemed not to emulate a higher Post than Secretary of State, always interposing Lord John Cavendish in the Guardianship of the Public Money. Nor could the British People confide their Interests to more incorruptible Integrity, than distinguished the Chancellor of the Exchequer: but he could not sustain the slightest Comparison with Pitt, nor even with Lord North, in the Powers of his Mind and Understanding, or in his parliamentary Talents, and Knowledge of Business.

[2d and 3d June.] The parliamentary Prosecution instituted against Sir Thomas Rumbold, continued to languish, rather than to advance towards any Consummation, throughout the whole Session. Nevertheless, at this Time, the Evidence in his Defence being closed, Mr. Dundas rose, and moved that the Proceedings should not be discontinued by either a Prorogation or a Dissolution of Parliament. This Motion, which was intended to be accompanied with

a Bill for restraining Rumbold from quitting the Kingdom, or from alienating his Property, till the final Decision of the Enquiry, gave Rise to much Difference of Opinion. Sawbridge, Lord Nugent, and various other Members, though by no means partial to the accused Person, yet declared that they considered the whole Business as unconstitutional and oppressive. Rigby, near two Months earlier, when the Subject was agitated in the House, had not hesitated to stigmatize it with Epithets of Condemnation and Derision. Accustomed to speak his Sentiments on every Topic, with a blunt and overbearing, as well as dictatorial Tone, "This Assembly," observed he, "is acting in a Capacity, partly legislative, partly judicial. We are now performing the Functions of a Judge, and for ought I see, we may have to do the Office of Hangman." On the present Occasion, he treated the Motion in a similar Manner. "We are asked," said he, "to continue the Bill in Existence, even after a Dissolution of Parliament. What! Are we to bind five Hundred and fifty-eight other Individuals, to abide by and to adopt the Evidence which we alone have heard? The Proposition excites Ridicule."

Rumbold himself, addressing the House, made a very forcible and pathetic Appeal to their Feelings, no less than to their Justice. And he was heard with great Attention. In Language of Energy, he depicted his Sufferings, deprecated all further Delay, implored the House, for their own Honour and Dignity, to accelerate the Conclusion; cited Magna Charta, the Bulwark of our Liberties, where it is expressly declared that the Subject shall experience no Delay of Justice; and protested, that whatever might prove their Decision, he would not shrink from it. Nor did he omit to remark in how different a Manner, Burke, who was one of his ardent Prosecutors, had conducted himself towards Powell and Bembridge;—Men accused, like himself, but, not proved to be criminal. Lord North, though he voted for the Motion, (probably, more from Consideration for his new Allies, than from Inclination,) yet agreed with Rigby in Opinion, that one Parliament could not bind another; still less could the present House of Commons who *heard* the Evidence, legislate for their Successors, and compel them to *decide* on that Evidence. The Solicitor General, Lee, a Man of up-

right Principles, though of rude and repulsive Manners; who had uniformly disapproved the whole Proceedings, declared that he could perceive no Reason for changing his Opinion relative to them; and therefore, as far as his individual Vote extended, he would never consent to retain Rumbold under the Terrors of a restraining Act. Nevertheless, as Pitt and Fox, Dundas and Burke, who rarely concurred on any Point, agreed on this Subject, Leave was given to bring in the Bill: but, its Features were softened down by the Lord Advocate, when he presented it, next Day. Sir Thomas's personal Property remained no longer tied up; only his landed Estate at Woodhall in the County of Hertford, being rendered responsible; and he was permitted to quit the Kingdom, from which Exercise of his Freedom he had been previously interdicted. At this Point terminated the Prosecution, which may be said to have died of a political Atrophy.

While the Rockingham Party, during many Years had been excluded from Office, they loudly declaimed against Abuses of every Description, particularly against the extra-

vagant Expenditure of the public Money in various Departments. Nor, during the very short Period that the Treasury was under their Controul, which did not exceed three Months, can it be denied that they endeavoured to manifest the Sincerity of their Engagements. Burke, who stood forward in the invidious Character of a Reformer, acquired no inconsiderable Merit with the Country at large, by his Exertions to reduce exorbitant Demands, or to abolish obsolete and overgrown Establishments of every Kind. But, with Lord Rockingham's Life, these Efforts wholly ceased. From the Period of their Union with Lord North, when they began confidently to count on a quiet Possession of Power and Emolument, at least for a few Years, in consequence of their Strength in both Houses of Parliament; they seemed to have greatly relaxed in the Severity of their political Principles. Above all, they manifested a decided Aversion to any Reforms which did not originate with themselves, and which were not subjected to their own ministerial Controul. A striking Exemplification of this Fact, presented itself before the End of the Session.

Mr. Pitt, who watched all their Conduct, and canvassed all their Measures, with jealous, as well as unremitting Attention; having brought forward a Bill, in order to establish Regulations in the Fees, Perquisites, and other Emoluments received in most of the public Offices; instead of finding any Support from the other Side of the House, as might naturally have been expected, met with the warmest Opposition in that Quarter. Lord John Cavendish possessed indeed too much Ingenuousness of Character, altogether to dispute the Utility of the Objects proposed, and therefore contented himself with partially and indirectly resisting the Plan: but, Fox and Burke loaded the Bill, its Author, and the Administration of which he had lately composed a Part, with the severest Epithets or Imputations. One of the Topics on which they commonly exhausted their Ridicule and Contempt, was the Speech pronounced from the Throne, at the Opening of the Session. This Composition, they affected to consider as a Mass of unmeaning Promises, either in themselves improper to be reduced to Practice, or never intended for any Purpose, except Delusion. Pitt,

therefore, had in View to rescue the Administration in which he had occupied a distinguished Place, from Charges so injurious; and when he introduced the Measure, he observed, that it would prove "His Majesty's Speech was not full of mere empty Profession; but, on the contrary, the Ministers of that Period, if they had continued in Power, were determined to have carried every Part of it into Effect." Burke, indignant, and accustomed during many Years to treat Lord North, while plunged in the Embarrassments of the American War, with Language of great Asperity, did not sufficiently recollect with how different an Antagonist he now had to contend. Rising in one of those Paroxysms of Anger to which he was subject, he exclaimed, that "the Conduct of the late Cabinet must be exposed, for which Purpose he should move to lay certain Papers on the Table. The House," added he, "will then have at once displayed before them, the Plans of pretended Reform, contrasted with the Practices of Abuse. From the Comparison, it may be ascertained whether the Speech in Question, was not a Parade of Profession and Promise, while their Measures

“were full of Criminality.” Expressions so strong, were not allowed by Pitt to pass without instant Animadversion. “Let the Question between us,” replied he, “be brought to an immediate Test, and a full Enquiry set on Foot. The Right Honorable Gentleman best knows, whether bringing forward Plans of theoretical Reform, and committing practical Abuses in Office, do, or do not meet in the same Person.” Not a Word of Reply being uttered from the Treasury Bench, Pitt’s Bill of Regulation experienced no further Opposition on that Evening.

[17th June.] As it advanced however through the subsequent Stages, every Species of indirect Hostility was manifested towards it, Lord John Cavendish himself representing it as useless or unnecessary; though Pitt, after entering into all the Details of its Operation, declared his firm Conviction that it would save the Public, at least forty Thousand Pounds a Year. Fox repeated the Words used by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; to which Burke added, that the Bill held out the Reverse of true æconomical Reform; substituting in its

Place, only Vexation and Expence. Some of the Comparisons and Allusions made by Burke in particular, reflecting contemptuously on Pitt, as a Projector and a Reformer, appeared, when falling from *his* Lips, to affect his Audience with no little Surprise; he having so recently, himself, laid Claim to general Approbation, in the same Character. As it might nevertheless have seemed too indecorous, not to permit the Bill to pass the House of Commons, Ministers allowed it to go up to the Peers: but, *there* the whole Force of Government drew out in array against the Measure. Even the Duke of Portland, who seldom exhibited any Specimens of Eloquence, stigmatized it as "more a Disease, than a Remedy;" while Lord Fitzwilliam decried it, as being both trifling and vexatious in its Nature. Thus attacked, the Measure was finally negated. Such a Repugnance, demonstrated to the very Objects of Retrenchment, which they had themselves affected to introduce only a few Months before, with so much Zeal, even into the Palace, and at the Table of the Sovereign; evidently, because they were now proposed from a hostile Source; did not fail to make an adequate Impression on

the public Mind. It operated to the Disadvantage of the Ministry in every Quarter of the Kingdom; and by unmasking them in some Measure, it silently prepared the Way for those astonishing Events in the Interior of the Government, which took Place before the Conclusion of the Year.

Some of the Abuses which Pitt had attempted to point out and expose, in the Progress of the Bill which he introduced into the House of Commons, were indeed of a Description so singular, as to excite not only Astonishment, but, even to produce a Degree of Ridicule. They served to shew what extensive Depredations had been committed upon the Public, in many, or in all the principal Offices, previous to the Period of Lord North's Resignation. That Nobleman formed the Mark, at which Pitt levelled his severest Censures; nor could the House altogether refrain from Laughter, at one of the Charges, specifying a Sum of three hundred and forty Pounds paid to the Secretary of the Treasury, for the Article of *Whipcord*. The annual Expence of the first Minister, for his individual *Stationery*, under which Denomination was however included the *Whipcord*, did not fall short;

as it appeared, of thirteen hundred Pounds. Lord North, when called on, made nevertheless not only a plausible, but, a very satisfactory Defence, to most of the alledged Items. Relative to the Consumption of *Whipeord*, which had excited a great deal of Mirth, having professed at the same Time, his total Ignorance, Robinson undertook to give some sort of Explanation; which, however ingenious, or even well founded it might be, yet diverted, more than it satisfied his Hearers.

It is certain that during the Period antecedent to 1782, the Abuses practised in many great official Departments, which exceeded all reasonable Limits, loudly demanded parliamentary Regulation. I have, myself, had Occasion to hear, if not to see, Specimens and Instances of Depredation; (for they well merited the Name;) which will hardly obtain Belief in the present Days. I knew with some Degree of Intimacy, a Lord of Trade, who possessing a Borough, and a very large Fortune, was, himself, a Member of the House of Commons in successive Parliaments. On his being sworn in at the Board of Trade, he issued an Order to provide a great Num-

ber of Pewter Inkstands for his own Use; which he afterwards commuted into one, composed of Silver. I have seen him at the Levee, dressed in a suit of green Velvet, fabricated, as Fame reported, out of the Materials ordered in his public Character, for the ostensible Purpose of making Bags to contain Office Papers. His Friends and Correspondents could recognize the Stationery, of which he had made an ample Provision, more than ten Years after the Board of Trade itself, abolished by Burke's Bill, had ceased to have any Existence. Even since 1782, similar Facts are said to have taken place. This Gentleman, or rather his Wife, formed one on the List of British Peerages, intended to have been either revived or created, by Lord North and Fox; the Number of which, as I recollect, amounted to Thirty-two, or Thirty-three; if the *Coalition* had forced their way a second Time into the Cabinet, in the Beginning of 1784, as they confidently expected.

Nor were these the only official and ministerial Appropriations of the public Money, to private Purposes, that distinguished the Times under our Review. From the Ministry

of Sir Robert Walpole, down to the Conclusion of Lord North's Government, few Places of considerable Emolument, in any Department, were given, wholly unfettered, to the nominal Occupant. Even under Lord Rockingham's first Administration in 1765, we find Wilkes *quartered* on the whole of the Treasury and Admiralty Boards, to the annual Amount of 1040*l.* a Year; the Marquis paying him 500*l.*; the inferior Lords of the Treasury, 60*l.* each; and the Members of the Board of Trade, each 40*l.* This curious Fact is stated in Horne's Letter to "Junius," of the 31st July, 1771. It was not attempted to be denied. When the Duke of Grafton, in June of the same Year, 1771, accepted the Office of Privy Seal, which had been previously destined for Lord Weymouth; "Junius" more than insinuates, that the last mentioned Nobleman was *quartered* by the Duke upon Rigby, who from 1768 to 1782, nominally occupied the sole Paymastership of the Forces. I knew a Lady of Quality, who having been Daughter to a Person high in Office, was commonly said to have *rode* sixteen Persons at one Time; to whom her Father had given Places, under that express Condition or Reservation. I believe she outlived them all. Governments, military

Appointments, Offices in the Excise and Customs; in a word, Places of every Description, at Home and Abroad, were frequently loaded with *Riders*.

I remember, at the very Time of which I am now speaking, in July, 1783, when the Bill for regulating the Offices in the Exchequer, was before the House of Commons; Hussey, enumerating the Abuses practised, asked, "Have Ministers never heard of *quartering* one Person upon another? Will they venture to assert that at this Moment, no Individual ostensibly out of Place, is *quartered* upon the Salary of some Man in Employment? I mean no Imputation on the present Government. Such Practices, I believe, have prevailed under all Administrations, during many Years." Neither Fox, nor Lord North, though both the one and the other rose to speak during the Course of the Evening, attempted to contest Hussey's Assertion. Mr. Pitt himself, when introducing the Bill to which Allusion has been recently made, recapitulated many Alienations of public Money, which were then practised, but, which we can scarcely credit in the present Times. In the Navy Office, where no *Fees* were

allowed, and where, *under that Name*, they were disclaimed, the chief Clerk, whose Salary did not exceed 250*l.* a Year, received in *Gifts* annually, full 2500*l.* The Lords of the Treasury were accustomed to appoint their own Servants to the Place of Stampers in the Stamp Office; instantly granting them Leave of Absence, so that the Duty was performed by Deputy. Not only Coals and Candles, but, even Articles of Furniture were ordered by Persons in high Employment, to be sent, at the public Expence, to their Houses, both in London, and in the Country. The Post Office, and the Dock Yards, presented Facts equally demanding Reform. Pitt declared that the annual aggregate Charge on Account of Stationery Wares, exceeded eighteen Thousand Pounds; adding, that he had heard of Apartments being papered at the Expence of the Public. I feel it however incumbent on me to state, that Lord North made not only the most explicit and dignified Reply to these Allegations, as far as they regarded him personally or officially; but, demonstrated his own Disinterestedness, while at the Head of Affairs. "When I was placed," said he, "in the Controul of the Treasury, I found

“ that my Predecessors had invariably been
“ supplied with Coals and Candles at the pub-
“ lic Expence, according to ancient, estab-
“ lished Usage. Nevertheless I did not avail
“ myself of the Practice, however confirmed
“ by Length of Time, but, purchased those
“ Articles out of my own Purse.” He sub-
joined, “ I not only took every Precaution,
“ in Order to prevent Fraud from being com-
“ mitted in my Name; but, I assure the House,
“ I will make the most rigorous Enquiries,
“ and if I discover Delinquency, I will leave
“ nothing undone to bring the Offenders to
“ Punishment.” All these Modes of augment-
ing the fair Income or Salary of Office, were
extinguished, as I know, by Mr. Pitt, when
he became First Minister, throughout every
Department of the Revenue, as far as his
Influence extended. But, he was necessi-
tated in many Cases to commit a greater
Inroad on the Constitution, by distributing
Honours and Dignities, as a Substitute for
Emoluments.

[25th and 26th June.] Notwithstanding
the Ascendant which Fox exercised over the
Cabinet, and in particular, over the Chancel-
lor of the Exchequer, an Event occurred at

this Time, where his Influence proved unequal to overcome the Obstacles opposed to it. The Prince of Wales approaching the Period of his Minority, a separate Establishment became requisite for him; and Carlton House, which had not been inhabited since the Decease of the Princess Dowager of Wales in 1772, was chosen to constitute his future Residence. The Income proper for his Royal Highness's Support, became necessarily a Subject of Discussion among the Members of Administration, and produced great Difference of Opinion. Fox thought that the Sum of one Hundred Thousand Pounds, would not be more than adequate to maintain his State; while Lord John Cavendish, in whose immediate official Department the Business lay, conceived that a Moiety of the Sum might suffice, under the Circumstances of the Country, and the Incumbrances on the Civil List. His Majesty being of the latter Sentiment, it was adopted; and Lord John having acquainted the House with the gracious Determination of the Sovereign, not to call on his People for any additional Aid to his Civil List, but, to take on himself the present Expence of the Heir-

apparent, limited his Demand to the Sum of sixty Thousand Pounds, as a temporary Supply to the Crown, and an Outfit. Pitt instantly stood up, and having expressed his perfect Approbation of the Proposition, as by no means unreasonable or excessive, he passed some very high Encomiums on the Prince. Then, addressing his Discourse pointedly to the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he observed that Rumours had been circulated, in a Manner which seemed to stamp them with Authenticity, of a very extraordinary Nature. "Those Rumours," continued he, "asserted, that it had been the Intention of some of the King's Ministers, contrary to His Majesty's avowed Wishes, whose paternal Affection for his Subjects, suggested very different Ideas to his Royal Mind; as well as contrary to a due Consideration for the exhausted Condition of the Country; to have proposed a very enormous Sum for the Prince of Wales's Establishment. I rejoice exceedingly at finding those Reports practically done away on this Evening; but, I trust, that Ministers will take the present Occasion to rise in their Places, and to deny that there ever existed the slightest Foundation for such Asser-

“ tions. On so important a Point, I expect
“ that they will furnish us with an ample
“ Explanation.”

Fox, thus called on, rose, and in the manly Tone which always characterized him, replied, that as the Vote now proposed, went only to the Sum of fifty Thousand Pounds a Year, that Fact formed in itself a sufficient Answer to the Question. But, he added, that “ Former Princes of Wales had “ received larger Grants from Parliament, for “ the Support of their Dignity.” Having expatiated with equal Eloquence and Warmth of Colouring, on the eminent, as well as shining Virtues of the Prince; not omitting the Merit of his ready Obedience on the present Occasion, to his Majesty’s Pleasure; the Secretary added, “ If, however, it had remained with *me* to advise, or had it been *my* “ Province to make the Application of this “ Day, to the House, I do not hesitate to “ repeat that I should have asked for a much “ larger Sum. But, as the Person who possesses the best Right to decide upon that “ Point, has not coincided with me in “ Sentiment, it becomes my Duty to obey, “ and to act implicitly by his Opinion.” The

Vote then passed without a dissentient Voice; but, on the following Day, when the Report was made from the Committee of Supply, Governor Johnstone resumed the Subject. It required all the Strength of Nerves which he possessed, not to be deterred from touching upon a Topic so delicate in itself; necessarily exposing the Individual who agitated it, to a Variety of unpleasant Circumstances. Without however suffering these Considerations to influence his Conduct, Johnstone, after expressing his Concurrence and Satisfaction at the Resolution of the preceding Evening; observed, that it appeared, the Obligation was solely due to His Majesty, for taking the Allowance now made to the Prince of Wales, out of the Civil List; as well as for limiting to the Sum of sixty Thousand Pounds, the Aid demanded of Parliament on the present Occasion. "The Ministers of the Crown," continued he, "cannot lay Claim to the slightest Degree of Merit, from the Alleviation thus effected in the Burthens to be imposed upon the People. Much Praise has indeed been bestowed by them, on the Prince of Wales, for submitting to so limited a Provision: but, not a Syllable has fallen from their

“ Lips, in Praise of the King, who is the
“ Author of this meritorious Transaction.
“ I readily admit His Royal Highness’s high
“ Merit; not, however, because the Grant is
“ in itself too small, or inadequate; but, be-
“ cause, from the Expressions and Avowal of
“ the Secretary of State, the Prince has been
“ encouraged to imagine that *double* the
“ Sum ought to have been given him, inde-
“ pendent of the Civil List, or of his Father,
“ arising from a Vote of Parliament, to be set-
“ tled on himself.”—“ His Majesty’s Ministers
“ are most reprehensible, thus to recommend
“ it in the Deed, and to blast it in the Act;
“ insinuating in the plainest Manner their
“ Desire to have granted His Royal High-
“ ness double the Provision: at the same
“ Time informing us, that the present Propo-
“ sition emanates solely from the Sovereign,
“ whose Will on the present Point, they
“ were unable to controul.”—“ The actual Al-
“ lowance of fifty Thousand Pounds a Year,
“ with twelve Thousand more issuing from
“ the Revenues of Cornwall and of Wales,
“ constitute as ample an Establishment for
“ an unmarried Heir-apparent, as a Country
“ pressed down by War and Taxation, can
“ with Propriety bestow.”

Fox having manifested some Marks of Contempt, or rather, of Levity, at the last Expression uttered by Johnstone, the Governor exclaimed, "I well know, Mr. Speaker, "that the largest Sums appear as Mites to "the Secretary of State, who is accustomed "to set at Defiance, all Ideas of Moderation "in his own personal Expences; and who "has now adopted the present desperate Expedient for supplying his Profusion and his "Ambition. To His Majesty alone, we owe "the Proposition before us; and no Persons "are in general more lavish of Encomiums "on the Sovereign, than the Members of "Administration, when they mean to assume "to themselves the Merit of those Acts. "No such Commendations have been now "bestowed on the King, who is indirectly "censured for granting so small a Pittance "to his Son. Delicacy ought to have restrained Ministers from expressing such "Sentiments in this Assembly, while they "think proper to occupy their official Employments. By sullenly refusing to explain whether they will not soon call on "us for further pecuniary Assistance to the "Prince, they even encourage him to "incur Debts which must ultimately be

“liquidated by Parliament.” A Speech so abounding with offensive Personalities, it might naturally have been expected, would call up the Secretary of State, who seldom remained silent under similar Attacks. Nevertheless, the whole Treasury Bench sat mute, and the House rose immediately: but, throughout the whole Proceeding, Fox undoubtedly appeared rather in the Character of a Friend and an Adherent of the Heir to the Throne, than as a confidential Servant, and a Cabinet Minister of George the Third. Pitt, even while at the Head of Opposition, seemed to act more in the latter Capacity.

I ought however in Justice to say, that his Parliamentary Conduct, during the whole Period of the *Coalition* Administration, displayed neither an illiberal, a vindictive, nor an undistinguishing Resistance to ministerial Measures. On the contrary, he supported Government on more than one Occasion, when a factious Member of the House might have acquired Popularity by an opposite Line of Action. I could cite Instances in Proof of my Assertion. In the List of Taxes enumerated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and brought forward as Part of his

Ways and Means, was one, imposing a small Stamp on Receipts. This Tax, which experienced great Obstacles from various Parts of the House, excited much Clamour: but, Pitt refused to lend himself to it, and declared his Determination to give the Bill his strenuous Support. Among the favourite Objects of the Shelburne Ministry, might be justly reckoned the Steps taken for compelling public Accountants to pay in their Balances of national Money. Powis having about this Time, demanded whether Administration was occupied on a Subject so important to the State; and Kenyon following up the Question, by asking if the Bill filed against Powell, as one of the Executors of the late Lord Holland; but, which had been suspended by Powell's tragical Death, was about to be prosecuted; the Solicitor General, (Lee), rose in Reply. With the Sincerity and Independence of his natural Character, which disdained all Circumlocution, he answered, that "he never would revive the "Bill, to the Extent of the former, which "Powell's End had arrested," "The old "Bill," subjoined he, "reclaimed all the "Interest ever made by Lord Holland, while "Paymaster of the Forces, out of the public

“Money in his Possession. I hold this Measure to be so oppressive, as well as unjust; so contrary to long established Usage, and of a Nature which would occasion such Apprehensions among all the Descendants of former Paymasters, that I will rather resign my Office, than consent to countenance it.”

Fox did not let pass the Occasion thus offered him, of justifying his Father's Memory, at the Expence of the late Administration. “My noble Relation,” observed he, “was the only Paymaster of the Forces, whom those Ministers selected for the Purpose of exacting from his Executors, Sums which, if extorted, must reduce his Family to Beggary. For, what was their Demand?—The Interest, not of Money withheld from the Public, after it had been reclaimed by Government; but, the whole accumulated Gain made by Lord Holland, while at the Head of the Pay Office. This was a Prosecution, which, if the Situation in which I personally stood with Respect to the last Cabinet, be considered, looked very much like Persecution.” Anxious probably to efface such an Imputation,

thrown on the Individuals with whom he was so closely connected, Pitt instantly stood up, and declared that he did not think, Interest of the retrospective and comprehensive Nature described, ought to be demanded by the Public. But, he justified the late Attorney General, (Kenyon), for having laid Claim to it on the Part of the Country, as that Law Officer conceived it to be his Duty. Adding, "an Attorney General ought not "to exercise his Discretion on such a Point, "or to leave unclaimed, any supposed Right "of the Crown." Burke, however, starting up, exclaimed, "Precisely on the same "Ground, might the iniquitous Ministers of "Henry the Seventh, Empson and Dudley, "be defended!" Here the Matter terminated.

[10th July.] The fruitless Attempt made by Pitt, to regulate the Abuses of Fees in the public Offices, did not constitute the only unsuccessful parliamentary Effort undertaken by him, during the Session. A short Time before its Close, Lord John Cavendish, as it would appear, somewhat incautiously or inadvertently laid on the Table, a Book containing the List of public Accountants, to whom Sums of Money,

exceeding in the whole forty-four Millions, had been issued by Government, for which they had never passed any Accounts before the Auditors of the Imprest. Pitt instantly endeavoured to induce the House to vote an Address to the Crown, requesting His Majesty to take Measures for compelling the Persons named, to account for those Sums; and for preventing a future Recurrence of the same Abuse. He seemed authorized to assume, that such a Motion would be too analogous to the avowed Disposition and Professions of the Rockingham Party, to experience from them any Resistance. All the Ability, Eloquence, Wit and Ingenuity of the ministerial Benches, were nevertheless called out, in order to invalidate the Authenticity of the very Document, laid by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Table; which Book, his Colleagues now declared to be destitute of proper Authority, and consequently, an unsafe, as well as inefficient Basis, on which to found the proposed Address to the Throne.

This Treatment of Lord John in his official Capacity, as Minister of Finance, by his own Friends, in the Face of the House of Com-

mons, did not appear at first Sight, either the most respectful to him, or even the most decorous to themselves. Sheridan with consummate Address, contrived, however, to render it in some Measure palatable, by a delicate Mixture of Compliment to his Integrity, and of Censure on his Prudence: while Lord North and Fox played their whole Artillery upon Pitt. The two Secretaries of State seemed on that Day, to act in perfect Concert, and to be cordially united. To Fox, the Motion was, indeed, one of deep Interest; his Father standing on the List, nominally for twelve, out of the forty-four Millions, which had not been *formally* passed by the Auditors of the Imprest; though it seemed to be generally admitted, that the Money issued to Lord Holland, was *substantially* accounted for by that Nobleman's Executors. Fox objected in strong Terms, to the Assertion of any specific Sum remaining unaccounted for in the Exchequer, and indirectly accused Pitt of meaning to implicate Lord Holland by the proposed Vote, as a Defaulter. "The "Right Honorable Gentleman," added he, "has probably the same Intentions, as those "Individuals manifested, who, when my no-

“ ble Relation had in his Hands about four hundred thousand Pounds of the public Money, called him the *Defaulter of unaccounted Millions.*” Nor was the Secretary less severe on his Colleague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, than Sheridan had been; blaming Lord John’s injudicious Candour, in producing a Document, of which so injurious a Use had been made by the Opposition. Having finally expunged the most essential Clauses of the proposed Address to the Throne, Ministers allowed it to pass the House.

[16th July.] The Session, protracted to the middle of July, now drew towards a Termination. During the Space of about three Months that Parliament remained sitting after the Formation of the new Ministry, both Houses, in particular, the Commons, had manifested the utmost Disposition to give them every Support. The Opposition, though conducted by Pitt and Dundas, while it was tacitly, as well as powerfully sustained by Jenkinson; yet rarely ventured on a Division, which only exposed the Paucity and Inferiority of their Numbers. Lord North, however obscured he might be by the su-

perior Energy of Fox, still remained the nominal Leader of a very numerous Body, who looked to him for Protection against the violent Members of the Rockingham Party. But, his Colleague, without the Title, was already become the real First Minister; as the great Earl of Chatham had been formerly, under the late and present Reign, when only Secretary of State, or when holding the Privy Seal. The Strength of Fox's Character, the Activity of his Mind, the Warmth of his Friendship, and the Splendour of his Talents;—this Combination of Endowments naturally attracting Adherents, enabled him to absorb the whole Power of Government. Burke, ardent, indefatigable, and never losing Sight of his Object, impatiently looked forward to the great Task of reforming and remodelling India. The advanced Season of the Year at which the Administration came into Power, and that Circumstance only, had induced Fox, as well as his Colleagues, to allow the present Session to elapse, without immediately availing themselves of the Patronage, and multiplied Sources of Advantage, which the Indian Empire offered to their Avidity. It presented a rich Harvest,

which they devoured by Anticipation; and the Enjoyment of which they reluctantly postponed, even for a few Months. But, the Magnitude, Importance, and complicated Nature of the political Machine by which India was governed, demanded mature Deliberation, before they ventured to reconstruct it, as they meditated, entirely on new Principles. It was therefore finally determined in the Cabinet, to call Parliament together early in the approaching Autumn, for the Purpose; and the King was expressly made to declare the Intention, in his Speech pronounced from the Throne, on the Prorogation. Sheridan, by a wonderful Combination of almost all the Talents which can meet in Man, under the Controul of unalterable Equality of Temper, began already to compete with Burke in parliamentary Estimation; and frequently obtained a more ready or patient Hearing from the House. Every Day, while it confirmed the Ascendant which he had there acquired, placed him higher among the most distinguished Supports of Administration.

If the *Coalition* looked round at Home, they beheld at this Period, a docile Parlia-

ment, originally called together by Lord North; and of which Assembly he still retained in his Hands, many of the secret Springs or Keys, in both Houses. Abroad, every thing announced the Continuance of Peace. America was indeed lost; but, the emancipated Colonies had ceased to be hostile to Great Britain. France, exhausted even by her late Advantages beyond the Atlantic; weak in her Government, and altogether convulsed or deranged in her Finances; already nourished in her Vitals the Seeds of that fatal Revolution, which has since overturned Order, Religion, Morals, and the ancient Fabrick of Europe. Joseph the Second, Emperor of Germany, suppressing Monasteries and religious Establishments with one Hand; with the other, in direct Violation of all subsisting Treaties, rashly and wantonly demolished to their Foundations, the Works of the Garrison Cities of the Austrian Netherlands. I witnessed, myself, during the Course of that Summer, the Expulsion of the last Remains of the Dutch Troops maintained in the Barrier Towns, and the Destruction or Demolition of the Fortifications themselves. Except Luxembourg, placed at one Extremity,

towards Germany; and the Citadel of Antwerp, situate at the other Termination of Flanders; it was obvious that scarcely any Obstacle remained, to exclude France from overrunning the Low Countries at her Pleasure. If these Reflections appeared however to cause no Uneasiness to Ministers, yet a domestic Source of just Anxiety which they could not surmount, presented itself in the fixed and unconquerable Alienation of the King. In vain did they endeavour to insinuate themselves into his personal Favour. He received with Formality and Coldness, all their Advances; allowed them to dictate Measures; gave them Audiences, signed Papers, and complied with their Advice: but, he neither admitted them to his Confidence, nor ceased to consider them as Objects of his individual Aversion. The Consciousness of this Sentiment existing in the royal Bosom, which sunk deep into Fox's Mind, naturally impelled him to substitute other Foundations, on which to construct, and to perpetuate his ministerial Greatness.

No Man who has enjoyed the Opportunities of studying Fox's Character, or of being

informed respecting his political Line of Action, to which I have had Access; can however doubt that he would have preferred Gentleness before Force, and Conciliation in Preference to harsher Methods of confirming his Power, if the Means of accomplishing it had been open to him. He well knew how difficult it was to retain Office in Defiance of the Sovereign; and he could not be ignorant that by his Junction with Lord North, though he had stormed the Cabinet, he had lost his Popularity. All his original Principles were monarchical, and even his Ambition partook of the Pliability of his Nature. His very Necessities rendered him ductile, and loudly called on him to bestow some Attention on his private Fortune. In fact, we may question whether a more complying Minister, or one more disposed to have gratified his Master in every legitimate Object of royal Desire, could have been found among His Majesty's Subjects. Mr. Pitt manifested by no means the same Acquiescence, or the same Suavity and ready Submission, on a Variety of Occasions, when afterwards in Office. He was on the contrary, often intractable and pertinacious, as I know, even upon Points painfully interest-

ing to the King. But, if George the Third did not regard him with Affection, he at least considered him with Esteem; and unfortunately for Fox, it was not easy to acquire the Favour of the Sovereign, except through the Channel of his moral Approbation. “*Hoc fonte derivata Clades.*” It was in vain that the Secretary watched for a Moment of Weakness, of which he would no doubt have profited, to insinuate himself into the royal Confidence. There existed no Mistress to facilitate his Approaches, to soften Asperities, and to form the Medium of Reconciliation. Under George the First, the Duchess of Kendal, or the Countess of Darlington, would have performed that Office for him, though not gratuitously; as Mrs. Howard, or Madame de Walmoden, would equally have done with George the Second.

Nor can we reasonably question on the other Hand, that His Majesty justly appreciated the Secretary's Character, and was well aware that he would not prove more intractable or rigid while in Office, than other Men. But he did not choose to avail

himself of such Assistance. I know that some three or four Years after the Time of which I now speak, the King finding himself alone with the Duke of Queensberry, who had been one of the Lords of his Bed-chamber ever since his Accession to the Crown, and with whom he was accustomed to converse unreservedly on many Subjects ; the Discourse turned on the Coalition Ministry. " Sir," said the Duke, " Your Majesty might safely have allowed Mr. Fox to remain in Office, and you would have found in him every Disposition to comply with your Wishes. I can assert as an undoubted Fact, that there was scarcely any Proof of his personal Devotion, or any Sacrifice that he would not have made, to acquire your Favour." " He never said as much to me," answered the King. " No, Sir," replied the Duke, " assuredly he did not, because Your Majesty never gave him any Encouragement to venture on taking such a Step." George the Third, during the eight or nine Months of his Captivity, only looked to Emancipation, and never attempted to gain or to conciliate his Ministerial Jailors.

Meanwhile emerging, as the Duties of his high Office compelled him, from the Dissipation and Society of Brookes's; Fox, during this brilliant, but, transitory Portion of his Life, fulfilled with universal Approbation, I might even say, Admiration, all the essential, no less than the ostensible Functions of Secretary of State. At his House in Grafton Street, where he resided, he received and entertained the foreign Ministers then resident in London from the various European Courts, with distinguished *Eclat*. They, who were never weary of his Conversation, respected his Talents, while they admired the immense Variety of his Information on all diplomatic Points. Delighted at the Facility with which he wrote or conversed in French, an Accomplishment not so general at that Time, as it is now become; they were not less gratified by the liberal Hospitality of his Table, added to the noble Amenity and Frankness of his Manners. Nor can it be sufficiently regretted, that a Man so much formed to have done Honor, and to have rendered essential Service to his Country, as Fox; should, by the Errors or Imprudencies of his own Conduct, have rendered himself obnoxious to

his Sovereign, and thus have excluded himself from Office. We cannot reflect without Concern, that in the Course of a Life prolonged to its fifty-eighth Year, Fox sat only about nineteen Months in the Cabinet, taken altogether: while Pitt, who terminated his comparatively short Career at forty-seven, passed almost his whole Life after he attained to Manhood, in the first Employments; or rather, in the highest Situation of State, that of Prime Minister. However we may dispute as to the Superiority of *Talents* in these two extraordinary and illustrious Men, Posterity will be at no Loss to decide respecting the Superiority of their *Judgment*.

[August.] Pitt availing himself of this Interval of political Leisure, afforded him by the Triumph of the *Coalition*, and the Recess of Parliament, endeavoured to catch a hasty Glimpse of the Continent, which he had scarcely ever before visited. As if he foresaw that no other Occasion would ever again present itself for the Gratification of his Curiosity, he crossed over to Calais, and directed his Course in the first Instance, to Rheims. Lord Thurlow followed his Ex-

ample. Mr. George Rose, who had been one of the two Secretaries of the Treasury, when Pitt filled the Post of Chancellor of the Exchequer; and who has since deservedly risen by his distinguished financial Talents or Services, to much higher official Situations; accompanied Lord Thurlow. I met them by Accident, at Antwerp. Pitt proceeding afterwards to Paris, was presented by our Ambassador, the Duke of Manchester, to Louis the Sixteenth, at Fontainebleau, where the French Court always passed a considerable Portion of the Autumn. His Name, and the Fame of his distinguished Abilities, which had preceded his Appearance, disposed all to admire him: but, the King, in Compliance with the stupid *Etiquette*, that interdicted him from speaking to Foreigners, who were presented at Court; when added to his natural Shyness; did not, I believe, exchange one Word with Pitt. The Queen, whose superior Energy of Mind emancipated her from such Restraints, treated him with the utmost Distinction. Marie Antoinette entered into Conversation with him, as far as his cold Manner, increased by an imperfect Knowledge of the French Language, would permit him to

engage in Discourse. "*Monsieur*," said she to him, on his retiring, with a Manner even more expressive than the Words, "*Je suis charmée de vous voir, et de vous avoir vue.*" Pitt took Care to return to London from his short Excursion, in Time to attend the Meeting of Parliament.

While the two Leaders of Ministry, and of Opposition, were thus respectively occupied, the one in his official Duties at Home, and the other on the Continent; the King became a Prey to habitual Dejection. Throughout all the Troubles of his Reign, when Wilkes and when "*Junius*" excited Disaffection among his Subjects, as well as during the most distressful Periods of the American War; or when the Capital exhibited Scenes of Outrage and of popular Violence; he had maintained a serene Countenance, and manifested an unshaken Firmness. But, his Fortitude sunk under the Bondage to which the *Coalition* had subjected him. His natural Equality of Temper, Suavity of Manners, and Cheerfulness of Deportment, forsaking him in a great Measure, he became silent, thoughtful, taciturn, and uncommunicative. Sometimes, when he re-

sided at Windsor, mounting his Horse, accompanied by an Equerry and a single Footman; after riding ten or twelve Miles, scarcely opening his Lips, he would dismount in order to inspect his Hounds, or to view his farming Improvements: then getting on horseback again, he returned back to the Queen's Lodge in the same pensive or disconsolate Manner. From time to time, he admitted Mr. Jenkinson and Lord Thurlow, both of whom were Privy Councillors, to pay their respects to him. He even repeated to the latter of those distinguished Persons, his Wish already expressed, of going over to his Electoral Dominions for a few Months; and abandoning to the Ministers, the Power of which they had got Possession. But, Lord Thurlow, after again dissuading him from having recourse to any strong or violent Expedients for procuring present Emancipation; exhorted him to wait for a favorable Occasion, which Fox's Impetuosity or Imprudence would probably furnish, to liberate himself from the Yoke of the *Coalition*. Time soon presented the propitious Moment for putting this Advice into Execution.

[September.] His Majesty remaining inflexible in his Resolution not to create any *British* Peers on the ministerial Recommendation, they contented themselves with tendering him a List of eight or nine *Irish* Peerages. However reluctantly, he yet consented to exercise this Act of the Prerogative. Nearly about the same Time, the definitive Treaties of Peace were concluded with France and Spain; while David Hartley, who had been sent to Paris expressly for the Purpose, signed another Treaty with America. Hartley, who was Member for Hull, though destitute of any personal Recommendations of Manner, possessed some Talent, with unsullied Probity, added to indefatigable Perseverance and Labour. His Sight, which was very defective, compelled him always to wear Spectacles. The Rockingham Party contained not among them a more zealous Adherent; but, in Parliament, the intolerable Length, when increased by the Dulness of his Speeches, rendered him an absolute Nuisance, even to his own Friends. His rising always operated like a Dinner Bell. One Day, that he had thus wearied out the Patience of his Audience; having nearly cleared a very full House, which was re-

duced from three Hundred, to about eighty Persons, half asleep; just at a Time when he was expected to close, he unexpectedly moved that the Riot Act should be read, as a Document necessary to elucidate, or to prove, some of his foregoing Assertions. Burke, who sat close by him, and who wishing to speak to the Question under Discussion, which was a Part of the *Budget*, had been bursting with Impatience for more than an Hour and a Half; finding himself so cruelly disappointed, bounced up, exclaiming, while he laid hold of Hartley by the Coat, "The Riot Act! my dear Friend, "the Riot Act! to what Purpose! don't "you see that the Mob is already complete "ly dispersed? You have not twenty Hear- "ers." The sarcastic Wit of this Remark, in the State of the House, which presented to the View only empty Benches; when increased by the Manner and Tone of Despair, in which Burke uttered it; convulsed every Person present except Hartley, who never changed Countenance, and insisted on the Riot Act being read by one of the Clerks. Lord North himself recounted this Story to Sir John Macpherson, from whom I received it.

I have heard the late Earl of Liverpool, then Mr. Jenkinson, say, that Hartley having risen to speak, about Five o'Clock, during the Session of the Year 1779, in the Month of June, or of July; and it being generally understood, that he would undoubtedly continue a long Time on his Legs, as he was to conclude with making a Motion; Mr. Jenkinson profited of the Occasion to breathe some Country Air. He walked, therefore, from the House, to his Residence in Parliament Street; from whence mounting his Horse, he rode out to a Place that he rented, some Miles from Town. There he dined, strolled about, and in the Evening returned slowly to London. As it was then near Nine o'Clock; before he went down a second Time to the House of Commons, he dispatched a Servant to Mrs. Bennet, the Housekeeper, requesting to be informed of the Names of the principal Persons who had spoken in the Course of the Debate, and likewise to know about what Hour a Division might probably be expected to take Place. The Footman brought back for Answer, that Mr. Hartley continued still speaking, but, was expected to close soon; and that no other Person had yet risen except

himself. In Fact, when Mr. Jenkinson entered the House soon afterwards, Hartley remained exactly in the same Place and Attitude as he was, near five Hours before; regardless of the general Impatience, or of the profound Repose into which the Majority of his Hearers were sunk. However incredible this Anecdote appears, I have related it without Exaggeration.

[October.] Autumn produced universal Tranquillity; a Peace with Holland, following the Treaties made with France, Spain, and America. In India, Hostilities had been long terminated with the Mharattas; and the Death of Hyder Ally, the most formidable Enemy with whom we had to contend in the East, which took place in December, 1782, enabled us to continue the Contest with France in that Quarter of the World, till the Arrival at Madras, of the Intelligence of a General Pacification in Europe. I availed myself of a fortunate Circumstance, to convey the first Information of this Event to India, and thereby stopped the further Effusion of Blood. Lord Walsingham, who honored me with his Friendship, having in his Possession two "Extraordinary Gazettes," issued on the 23rd of

January, 1783, gave me one of them; which Gazette I forwarded on the 25th of that Month, by the common Post, overland, through Vienna, Constantinople, Aleppo, and Bussora, to a Friend at Madras. It contained the Preliminaries of Peace just signed at Paris, between Great Britain, France, and Spain. The King's Ministers, as well as the East India Company, were equally bound by every Principle of Humanity and Policy, to have anticipated that Gazette. But, Lord Sydney, then Secretary of State for the Department, having delayed, (on Account of the unsettled Nature of the Administration, which continued during many Weeks in a Species of Suspension, after Lord Shelburne's Resignation;) to dispatch the "Crocodile" Frigate, with the Intelligence; and the Court of Directors remaining from the same Cause, equally negligent or torpid; my Letter reached Madras, about the middle of the following Month of June. Full six Weeks elapsed, subsequent to that Time, before any official Information, either from the Court of Versailles, from the British Government, or from the East India House, arrived on the Coast of Coromandel. Our Position, at the Moment when my Account was received in that Quarter of the Globe,

might be esteemed most critical, as we had formed the Siege of Cuddalore, and were under hourly Apprehension of a Sally being made on the Part of the Enemy; whose Force within the Walls, far exceeded the Number of our own Troops stationed in the Trenches before the Place. Under these Circumstances, Lord Macartney, then Governor of Madras, having dispatched his Secretary, Sir George Staunton, to Cuddalore, with the Gazette which my Friend had laid before him; Bussy, who commanded the French Forces, recognized its Authenticity, and consented to publish an immediate Cessation of Arms. When the Account of so extraordinary a Fact was received in London from Madras, early in 1784, together with the Recognition of its beneficial Results to the East India Company; a Member of the Court of Directors, who then enjoyed great Consideration in Leadenhall Street; impressed with a Sense of the public Benefits that had accrued from it, evinced a Desire of procuring for me, as its Author, some honorary Mark of the Company's Satisfaction or Gratitude. But, on his mentioning the Subject to the Chairman, and Deputy Chairman, they observed, that to thank me for sending out Intelligence of the

Conclusion of Peace, must seem to imply a tacit Condemnation of their own Delay, in so long withholding, or rather, in neglecting to forward the Information. The Business remained therefore unnoticed; but I do not the less reflect upon it, as one of the most gratifying Acts of my whole Life.

Hyder Ally, who had raised himself, like Buonaparte, from the Rank of a military Officer in the Service of his Native Prince, the Rajah or Sovereign of Mysore, to the Possession of supreme Power in that Country; was, beyond all Competition, the greatest Man whom India had beheld, since the Entry of Nadir Shaw into Dehli; or perhaps, since the Death of Aurung Zebe. It was twice the Lot of Hyder, to overrun the Carnatic, and to penetrate to the Gates of Madras. His first Irruption, which took Place in 1769, may even be said to have dictated the Treaty of Peace, concluded under the very Walls of the City. Governor Du Pré, who then presided over the East India Company's Affairs on the Coast of Coromandel; held more than one Interview with Hyder, while the Negotiations were still pending, in order to adjust, or to accelerate the Conditions. Insensibly, during these personal

Conferences, as their mutual Distrust and Distance wore off, the Nabob put many Questions to Du Pré, indicating equally the Enlargement of his Mind, and displaying the easy Familiarity of his Manners. One of the Circumstances which most excited the English Governor's Astonishment, was to see that Hyder had no Eye-brows; nor, indeed, a single Hair left on any Part of his Face. A Man constantly attended near him, whose sole Function and Employment consisted in pulling out, with a Pair of Nippers, the first Hair that made its Appearance on the Sultan's Countenance. Hyder perceiving the Surprise which this Fact occasioned in Du Pré, said to him, "I observe, that you wonder at my having no Eye-brows; as well as at my Attention in causing every Hair that appears on my Face, to be immediately eradicated. The Reason I will explain to you. I am the Nabob of Mysore, and it forms an Object of Policy with me, that my Subjects should see no Face in my Dominions, resembling the Countenance of their Sovereign." Du Pré assured Sir John Macpherson, to whom he related this Anecdote, that he believed Hyder's Practice proved him to possess a

VOL. III. 2 K

consummate Knowledge of Human Nature, especially of his own Subjects. "For," added he, "the Impression which the Nabob's Physiognomy made upon myself, was not a little encreased by its Singularity." From the universal Testimony of all those Europeans who had Opportunities of knowing this extraordinary Prince, it is unquestionable that his Manners, Voice, and Deportment, were the most soft and ingratiating to be imagined, whenever he wished to please, or affected to be gracious and benign: but, he was terrible, and often ferocious in his Anger, like the Caliph Haroun-Alraschid, or like Peter the First of Russia. He died of Abscesses, or Cancers, in his Loins; probably, the Consequences of Debauchery; which carried him off before he attained to old Age. After a War, which from its Commencement at Lexington in 1775, had lasted near eight Years, the World began to enjoy Repose: but, the Efforts made by the *Coalition* to consolidate their political Power, soon produced at Home the most violent Convulsions, which terminated in their total Downfal.

Two great legal Characters finished their Course nearly together, in the Autumn of

1783. Dunning, in August; and Wallace, in November. Both were eminent in their Profession; but, all the intellectual Superiority lay on the Side of the former. Yet Fortune had a greater Share than Merit or Talents, in elevating the one to the Peerage, while the other failed of attaining to that Eminence. If Lord North's Administration had continued two or three Years longer, and consequently if Lord Shelburne had been excluded from Office, their Destiny might probably have been reversed. I have been assured, that a short Time before Lord Ashburton's Decease, these two distinguished Lawyers finding themselves by Accident in the same Inn at Bagshot; the one, on his Way down into Devonshire, and the other returning from thence to London; both of them conscious that their Recovery from the Disorders under which they laboured, was desperate;—expressed a strong mutual Wish to enjoy a last Interview with each other. For that Purpose, they were carried into the same Apartment, laid down on two Sofas nearly opposite, and remained together for a long Time in Conversation. They then parted, as Men who could not hope to meet again in this World. By Wallace's Decease, Lee

became Attorney-General, and Mansfield was replaced in his former Situation of Solicitor-General, which he had filled under Lord North's Administration.

I passed a considerable Part of the Autumn with Lord Sackville, at Drayton in Northamptonshire. Though in his sixty-eighth Year, he possessed Activity of Body, Cheerfulness of Temper, and the perfect Possession of all his Faculties. Drayton had formerly belonged to the Mordaunts, Earls of Peterborough; from whom it passed into the Possession of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, by his Marriage with Lady Mary Mordaunt, under the Reign of William the Third. He did not however long retain it, having been divorced from the Duchess, on Account of a criminal Connexion which she carried on with Sir John Germain: and as the Duke had no Issue by her, Drayton reverted to the Lady. Lord Sackville having, as it is well known, assumed the Name of Germain, and having inherited the Estate of Drayton, it was natural that I should enquire how he came to be called to that Succession. He has frequently related to me the Particulars, which I shall recount in his own Words.

“ Sir John Germain’s Extraction,” said he,
“ which was uncertain, and variously re-
“ ported, has given rise to much Discussion.
“ His reputed Father bore Arms, as a pri-
“ vate Soldier, in the Life Guards of William
“ the Second, Prince of Orange: but his
“ Mother, who possessed great personal
“ Charms, Fame asserted to have been that
“ Prince’s Mistress; and her Son was be-
“ lieved to stand in a very close Degree of
“ Consanguinity to King William the Third.
“ Other Circumstances tend to confirm this
“ Opinion. Sir John Germain inherited no
“ paternal Coat of Arms; but he assumed,
“ or rather used, as his Seal and armorial
“ Bearing, a red Cross: meaning thereby
“ probably to imply, that his Pretensions
“ ascended higher than his ostensible Birth.
“ Even when, by the Provisions of his Wi-
“ dow, Lady Betty Germain’s Will, I inhe-
“ rited Drayton, on the Condition of assum-
“ ing the *Name* of Germain, no Mention was
“ made of the *Arms*, as is customary in
“ almost all similar Cases. King William,
“ with whom Sir John came over here from
“ Holland, in 1688, unquestionably regarded
“ him with distinguishing Affection, and
“ advanced him in Life. He became a

“ Member of Parliament, received the Honor
“ of Knighthood; and various pecuniary
“ Grants or Donations to a considerable
“ Amount, were conferred on him by that
“ Prince.

“ Sir John Germain, who possessed a very
“ handsome Person, was always a distin-
“ guished Favorite of the other Sex. His
“ Connexion with the Duchess of Norfolk;
“ finally procured him this Place and Estate;
“ she having married him, after obtaining a
“ Divorce from her first Husband. They
“ lived together several Years; but, no Chil-
“ dren being left alive, and the Title of Earl
“ of Peterborough having reverted to a col-
“ lateral Branch of the Mordaunt Family;
“ she bequeathed to him, by her Will, in the
“ Year 1705, the House and Property of
“ Drayton, which lay entirely in her own
“ Disposal. Sir John, who, though he was
“ naturalized, and become by long Resi-
“ dence in this Country, in a great Degree
“ an Englishman; retained nevertheless ma-
“ ny of the Habits of a Native of Holland;
“ attached himself much to my Mother.
“ She being the Daughter of Marshal Col-
“ year, Brother to the first Earl of Port-

“ more, who had entered early into the
“ Dutch Service, and who was an old
“ Friend of Sir John Germain; he always
“ called her his Countrywoman, visited fre-
“ quently at my Father’s House, and was
“ kindly received by the Duke and Duchess
“ of Dorset. Finding himself in Possession
“ of a considerable landed Property, after the
“ Death of his Wife; and desirous of trans-
“ mitting it to his own Descendants, but
“ being destitute of any natural Connexions,
“ he meditated to engraft himself on some
“ distinguished Family of this Kingdom.
“ For the express Purpose, while resident
“ at Bristol Wells, on Account of his Health,
“ he cast his Eyes upon Lady Betty Berke-
“ ley, a Daughter of the Earl of Berkeley;
“ whose Birth, Character, and Accomplish-
“ ments, rendered her every Way worthy of
“ his Choice. The Marriage took Place.
“ She was indeed, many Years younger than
“ Sir John; but, as she possessed a superior
“ Understanding, added to the most correct
“ Deportment, she acquired great Influence
“ over him. Having been, herself, previously
“ intimate with the Duchess of Dorset, the
“ Friendship between the two Families be-
“ came cemented by the Alliance. Sir John

“ Germain had several Children by her,
“ who all died young; and in the Even-
“ ing of his Life becoming a Martyr to the
“ Gout, as well as to other Diseases, Lady
“ Betty assiduously performed every Duty
“ of an affectionate Wife, and of a careful
“ Nurse, about his Person.

“ A short Time before his Decease, which
“ happened in the Year 1718, having called
“ her to his Bedside; ‘ Lady Betty,’ said he,
“ ‘ I have made you a very indifferent Hus-
“ band, and particularly of late Years, when
“ Infirmities have rendered me a Burden to
“ myself: but I shall not be much longer
“ troublesome to you. I advise you never
“ again to marry an old Man: but I strenu-
“ ously exhort you to marry when I am
“ gone, and I will endeavour to put it in
“ your Power. You have fulfilled every
“ Obligation towards me in an exemplary
“ Manner, and I wish to demonstrate my
“ Sense of your Merits. I have, therefore,
“ by my Will, bequeathed you this Estate,
“ which I received from my first Wife; and
“ which, as she gave to me, so I leave to
“ you. I hope you will marry, and have
“ Children to inherit it. But, if Events

“ should determine otherwise, or if you
“ should not have Issue that survive you,
“ it would give me Pleasure to think, that
“ Drayton descended after your Decease,
“ to a younger Son of my Friend, the Du-
“ chess of Dorset.’ In Consequence of this
“ *Wish*, expressed by Sir John Germain on
“ his Death-bed, I now enjoy the Estate.
“ Lady Betty, though young when left a
“ Widow, and though she survived him
“ above fifty Years, never married a second
“ Time. Her Friendship for my Mother,
“ always continued without Diminution;
“ and her Respect for the Desire manifested
“ by her Husband, induced her to fulfil his
“ Wishes, to the Exclusion of any of her
“ own Relations.”

While writing on this Subject, I shall endeavour to throw into one Point, some of the numerous Particulars relative to his own Family, which in the Course of Conversation I heard from Lord Sackville. They all may be said to hold, more or less, to English History. In order to give them more Verity and Accuracy, I shall, as nearly as I am able, present them in his own Words.

“ The Sackvilles,” said he, “ who came
“ into England with the Conqueror, and
“ who derived their Name from a small Vil-
“ lage of Low Normandy, have never branch-
“ ed in the Lapse of more than seven Hun-
“ dred Years. During the two last Cen-
“ turies, the Family has produced three dis-
“ tinguished Men; of whom the first was
“ the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, whom our
“ great Elizabeth thought worthy to suc-
“ ceed Lord Burleigh in that high Office,
“ and whom James the First created Earl
“ of Dorset. It would have been fortunate
“ for the Scottish King, if he had presided
“ longer in the Councils of the Crown; but
“ he soon followed his royal Mistress, and
“ made way, after a short Interval, for those
“ Favourites, Carr and Villiers, who covered
“ James with Disgrace. His Grandson,
“ Edward, Earl of Dorset, the Friend and
“ Contemporary of Lord Herbert of Cher-
“ bury; but, better known by his Duel with
“ Lord Bruce, performed an eminent Part
“ under Charles the First. He accompa-
“ nied that Prince during the civil Wars,
“ and fought in most of the Actions, from
“ Edge Hill, down to Naseby. But, like
“ the virtuous Lord Falkland, he regretted

“ and lamented the very Advantages, to
“ which he contributed by his Sword. Many
“ of his Letters, written between 1643, and
“ 1646, which are preserved among the Dor-
“ set Papers ; descriptive of the Scenes of
“ Havock then acting in every Part of the
“ Kingdom, convey a high Idea of his Prin-
“ ciples. His Days were embittered and ab-
“ breviated by his royal Master’s tragical
“ End, which he only survived about three
“ Years.

“ My Grandfather, Charles, commonly
“ called the witty Earl of Dorset, died about
“ ten Years before I was born, after having
“ survived in a great Degree his Faculties.
“ He was during his whole Life, the Patron
“ of Men of Genius, and the Dupe of Wo-
“ men. Bountiful beyond Measure to both,
“ though he inherited not only the paternal
“ Estate of the Sackvilles, but likewise, that
“ of the Cranfields, Earls of Middlesex, in
“ right of his Mother ; yet at his Decease,
“ my Father, then eighteen Years of Age,
“ possessed so slender a Fortune, that his
“ Guardians, when they sent him to travel
“ on the Continent, allowed him only eight
“ hundred Pounds a Year, for his Provision.

“ Charles, Earl of Dorset, married three
“ Times ; but, only one of these Marriages
“ contributed either to his Honour, or to his
“ Felicity. His first Wife was the cele-
“ brated Countess of Falmouth, well known
“ by her Gallantries ; the Miss *Bagot* of
“ ‘Grammont’s Memoirs,’ whom Dryden
“ has designated as

‘ A teeming Widow, but a barren Wife.’

“ Happily she left him no Issue ; and in his
“ second matrimonial Connexion, he con-
“ sulted not only his Inclination, but, his
“ Judgment, when he gave his Hand to a
“ Daughter of the Earl of Northampton. He
“ had then nearly attained his fiftieth Year ;
“ and as he was only twenty-three at the
“ Time of Charles the Second’s Restoration,
“ the Excesses of that dissolute Reign, in
“ which Lord Dorset led the Way, had al-
“ ready enfeebled his Constitution. Strongly
“ attached to the Principles of civil Liberty,
“ he quitted James the Second, when that
“ infatuated Prince attempted to introduce
“ Popery ; and conducted the Princess Anne
“ of Denmark from her Father’s Palace at
“ Whitehall, to the Coach which waited for

“ her in St. James’s Park, in order to convey her to Nottingham. While crossing over from the Palace to the Park, by Night, and in Winter, one of her Royal Highness’s Shoes sticking fast in the Mud, the Accident threatened to impede her Escape: but, Lord Dorset immediately drawing off his white Glove, put it on the Princess’s foot, and placed her safely in the Carriage. To King William, my Grandfather rendered himself not less acceptable, than he had been to Charles the Second; and I have always been assured that it only depended on himself, to have been raised to a Dukedom under William’s Reign: but, his Wife’s Relations, the Comptons, treating the Matter, when he mentioned it to them, with great Indifference, he said, ‘ the Earldom of Dorset was quite good enough for him.’ In fact, my Father only attained to that Dignity, near thirty Years afterwards, under George the First.

“ Extenuated by Pleasures and Indulgences, the Earl of Dorset sunk under a premature old Age; though not as early as Rochester, Buckingham, and so many

“ others of his Contemporaries had done, including Charles the Second himself; all of whom fell Victims to their immoderate Pursuit of Enjoyments. A few Years before he died, he married a Woman named Roche, of very obscure Connexions, who held him in a Sort of Captivity down at Bath, where he expired at about sixty-nine. She suffered few Persons to approach him during his last Illness, or rather, Decay; and was supposed to have converted his Weakness of Mind, to her own Objects of personal Acquisition. He was indeed considered to be fallen into a State of such Imbecility, as would render it necessary to appoint Guardians, with a View to prevent his injuring the Family Estate: but, the Intention was nevertheless abandoned. You have no doubt heard, and it is a Fact, that with a View of ascertaining whether Lord Dorset continued to be of a sane Mind, *Prior*, whom he had patronized and always regarded with Predilection, was sent down to Bath, by the Family. Having obtained Access to the Earl, and conversed with him, *Prior* made his Report in these Words. ‘ Lord Dorset is certainly greatly declined in his

“ Understanding; but he *drivels* so much
“ better Sense even now, than any other
“ Man can *talk*, that you must not call me
“ into Court, as a Witness to prove him an
“ Idiot.’

“ My Father having lost his own Mother,
“ when very young, was brought up chiefly
“ by the Dowager Countess of Northamp-
“ ton, his Grandmother; who being parti-
“ cularly acceptable to Queen Mary, she
“ commanded the Countess always to bring
“ her little Grandson, Lord Buckhurst, to
“ Kensington Palace, though at that Time
“ hardly four Years of Age; and he was al-
“ lowed to amuse himself with a Child’s
“ Cart in the Gallery. King William, like
“ almost all Dutchmen, never failed to attend
“ the Tea Table, every Evening. It hap-
“ pened that Her Majesty having, one After-
“ noon, by his Desire, made Tea, and wait-
“ ing for the King’s Arrival, who was en-
“ gaged on Business in his Cabinet, at the
“ other Extremity of the Gallery; the Boy
“ hearing the Queen express her Impatience
“ at the Delay, ran away to the Closet, drag-
“ ging after him the Cart. When he arrived
“ at the Door, he knocked; and the King

“ asking ‘ Who is there ? ’ ‘ Lord Buck,’ answered he, ‘ And what does Lord Buck want with me ? ’ replied His Majesty. “ ‘ You must come to Tea directly,’ said he, “ ‘ the Queen is waiting for you.’ King William immediately laid down his Pen, “ and opened the Door ; then taking the “ Child in his Arms, placed Lord Buckhurst “ in the Cart, and seizing the Pole, drew “ them both along the Gallery, quite to the “ Room in which were seated the Queen, “ Lady Northampton, and the Company. “ But, no sooner had he entered the Apartment, than, exhausted with the Effort, “ which had forced the Blood upon his “ Lungs, and being naturally asthmatic, he “ threw himself into a Chair, and for some “ Minutes was incapable of uttering a Word, “ breathing with the utmost Difficulty. The “ Countess of Northampton, shocked at the “ Consequences of her Grandson’s Indiscipline, which threw the whole Circle into “ great Consternation, would have punished “ him : but the King interposed in his behalf ; and the Story is chiefly interesting, “ because, (as serving to shew how kindly “ he could behave towards a troublesome “ Child,) it places that Prince in a more ami-

“ able Point of View, than he is commonly
“ represented in History. Henry the Fourth
“ of France, when playing with his own
“ Children, could not have manifested more
“ Amenity, or good Humour. The Queen
“ being accustomed to take Lord Buckhurst
“ in her Arms, and to caress him when he
“ came to Kensington; his Nurse, aware of
“ the Circumstance, gave him secretly a
“ written Paper, which she charged him to
“ deliver privately to Her Majesty. He
“ did so, without acquainting Lady Nor-
“ thampton, who being present, would have
“ interposed to prevent him: but the Queen
“ insisted on perusing its Contents. It con-
“ tained a Petition drawn up by the Woman,
“ in Favour of her Brother, then condemned
“ to Death for a capital Crime. Queen
“ Mary, touched with the Incident, laid it
“ before the King, who caused Enquiry to
“ be made into the Circumstances of the
“ Case, with a View of extending Mercy to
“ the Culprit. On Examination, the Crime,
“ from its Magnitude, not admitting of Par-
“ don, the Queen, as the only Alleviation left
“ in her Power to bestow, gave Lord Buck-
“ hurst a Purse containing ten Jacobusses;
“ enjoining him to present it to his Nurse

“ from herself, with the Assurances of her
“ Concern at the Impossibility that existed,
“ of saving her Brother’s Life.”

“ I was born,” continued Lord Sackville,
“ in the Year 1716, in the Haymarket, where
“ my Father then resided ; and received my
“ Name from George the First, who was my
“ Godfather, having honoured the Ceremony
“ of my Baptism by his personal Presence.
“ One of the earliest Circumstances which
“ made an Impression on my Mind, was that
“ of being carried, at five Years of Age, by
“ the Servants, to the Gate of St. James’s
“ Palace, in order to see the great Duke of
“ Marlborough, as he came out of Court.
“ He was then in a State of Caducity ; but
“ still retained the Vestiges of a most grace-
“ ful Figure, though he was obliged to be
“ supported by a Servant on each Side,
“ while the Tears ran down his Cheeks, just
“ as he is drawn by Dr. Johnson, who
“ says,

“ From Marlborough’s Eyes, the Tears of Dotage flow.”

“ The Populace cheered him, while passing
“ through the Crowd to enter his Carriage.

“ I have however heard my Father assert,
“ that the Duke of Marlborough by no
“ Means fell into irrecoverable or settled
“ Dotage, as we commonly suppose; but,
“ manifested at Times a sound Understand-
“ ing, till within a very short Period of his
“ Decease; occasionally attending the Privy
“ Council, and sometimes speaking in his
“ official Capacity, on Points of public Bu-
“ siness, with his former Ability.

“ No Man displayed greater Zeal than my
“ Father, for the Succession in the House of
“ Brunswic. After Queen Anne’s Death in
“ 1714, he was sent to Hanover; returned
“ with the new King from Heren Hausen to
“ England, in September of the same Year;
“ and had the Honour to accompany George
“ the First, in the Coach which conveyed him
“ on his Landing, from Greenwich to Lon-
“ don. Thirty-three Years earlier, he had been
“ a Suitor for the Hand of the Queen, whom
“ he then succeeded; having come over with
“ that View, from Germany to this Country,
“ in 1681, by Permission of his Father, Er-
“ nest Augustus; but, the Proposition failed
“ of Success. On his Return, riding a com-
“ mon Post Horse from London to Gravesend

“ where he took Shipping for Holland, the
“ Horse and the Road being equally bad, he
“ got a severe Fall, and arrived at Gravesend,
“ covered with Mud. The King, who re-
“ lated this Circumstance to Lord Dorset,
“ as they came up together in the Coach,
“ recognized, and pointed out the Spot
“ where the Misadventure befel him.

“ When the Intelligence of his Decease,
“ which took Place near Osnabrugh, in the
“ end of July, 1727, arrived in London; the
“ Cabinet having immediately met, thought
“ proper to dispatch the Duke of Dorset
“ with the News, to the Prince of Wales.
“ He then resided at Kew, in a State of great
“ Alienation from the King; the two Courts
“ maintaining no Communication. Some
“ little Time being indispensable, to enable
“ my Father to appear in a suitable Manner
“ before the new Monarch, he sent forward
“ the Duchess his Wife, in order to announce
“ the Event. She arrived at Kew, just as
“ the Prince, according to his invariable
“ Custom, having undressed himself after
“ Dinner, had lain down in Bed. The Du-
“ chess demanding Permission to see him
“ immediately, on Business of the greatest

“ Importance, the Servants acquainted the
“ Princess of Wales with her Arrival; and
“ the Duchess, without a Moment’s Hesita-
“ tion, informed her Royal Highness, that
“ George the First lay dead at Osnabrugh;
“ that the Cabinet had ordered her Husband
“ to be the Bearer of the Intelligence to his
“ Successor, and that the Duke would fol-
“ low her in a short Time. She added, that
“ not a Moment should be lost in communi-
“ cating so great an Event to the Prince, as
“ the Ministers wished him to come up to
“ London that same Evening, in order to sum-
“ mon a Privy Council, to issue a Proclama-
“ tion, and take other requisite Measures, at
“ the Commencement of a new Reign.

“ To the Propriety of all these Steps, the
“ Princess assented; but, at the same Time
“ informed the Duchess, that she could not
“ venture to enter her Husband’s Room, as
“ he had only just taken off his Clothes, and
“ composed himself to Sleep. ‘ Besides,’
“ added she, ‘ the Prince will not give Credit
“ to the Intelligence; but, will exclaim that
“ it is a Fabrication, designed for the Purpose
“ of exposing him.’ The Duchess continu-
“ ing nevertheless to remonstrate with Her

“ Royal Highness, on the injurious Consequences of losing Time; and adding, that
“ the Duke of Dorset would expect to find
“ the Prince not only apprized of it, but,
“ ready to accompany him to London; the
“ Princess of Wales took off her Shoes,
“ opened the Chamber Door softly, and advanced up to the Bed-side, while my Mother remained at the Threshold, till she
“ should be allowed to enter the Apartment.
“ As soon as the Princess came near the
“ Bed, a Voice from under the Clothes cried
“ out in German, ‘ Was is das?’ ‘ I am
“ come, Sir,’ answered she, ‘ to announce
“ to you the Death of the King, which has
“ taken Place in Germany.’ ‘ That is one
“ damned Trick,’ returned the Prince, ‘ I do
“ not believe one Word of it.’ ‘ Sir,’ said the
“ Princess, ‘ it is most certain. The Duchess
“ of Dorset has just brought the Intelligence, and the Duke will be here immediately. The Ministers hope that you will
“ repair to Town, this very Evening, as your
“ Presence there is indispensable. Her Royal
“ Highness then threw herself on her Knees,
“ to kiss the new King’s Hand; and beckoning to the Duchess of Dorset to advance,
“ she came in likewise, knelt down, and

“assured him of the indisputable Truth of
“his Father’s Decease. Convinced at length
“of the Fact, he consented to get up and
“dress himself. The Duke of Dorset ar-
“riving in his Coach and Six, almost imme-
“diately afterwards, George the Second
“quitted Kew the same Evening, for Lon-
“don.” I return to the Progress of public
Affairs.

[November.] When we reflect on the Man-
ner in which Fox had attained to Power; as
well as on the long, though ineffectual Re-
sistance made by the King; followed by his
sullen Resignation under a Yoke which he
found it impossible to elude, or throw off;
—when we consider these Facts, it cannot
excite Surprise, that Fox should meditate
the Means of confirming and perpetuating
his precarious Tenure of Office. He felt him-
self personally odious to the Sovereign, whom
he had too deeply offended, easily to obtain
Forgiveness. From that Quarter therefore,
he well knew that he might be undermined
or subverted; but, he could not hope to re-
ceive a cordial Support. Unfortunately, he
had likewise recently lost in a very consider-
able Degree, the Confidence and Attach-

ment of the People. So long as the American War lasted, he retained, in Defiance of his private Irregularities, their ardent Affection. Of this Sentiment, they gave him many Proofs: particularly, after his Duel with Mr. Adam, when the Wound which he received, exciting Apprehensions for his Life, the Populace surrounded his Lodgings, with Testimonies of clamorous Anxiety, as well as of corresponding Resentment against his Ministerial and personal Opponents.

Since that Time, the Inhabitants of Westminster manifesting the same Partiality, had elected him one of their Representatives in Parliament; a Situation which enabled him not only to defend their Liberties in the House of Commons; but, conferred likewise the Means of convoking, haranguing, and propelling them in tumultuary Assemblies, convened for the express Purpose, in Westminster Hall. To a Man of Fox's Energy and Talents, this additional Facility of thus presiding in a Species of Mob, at the very Door of the two Houses of Parliament, as well as at a very inconsiderable Distance from the Royal Residence, doubled his Consequence; and might be said to render him

a Tribune of the People, in the most literal Sense of the Word, nearly as that Office was exercised in ancient Rome, previous to the Subversion of the Commonwealth. Nor had his Popularity suffered at all in the general Estimation, by his Acceptance of Office under Lord Rockingham; though the Fallacy and Delusion of many of his Promises or Assertions, had become sufficiently manifest, even during his short Stay in the Cabinet, under that Administration. On the Motives, and on the Propriety or Necessity, of his Resignation, after Lord Shelburne's Elevation to the Head of the Treasury, Mankind seemed indeed divided; some applauding it, as an Act of magnanimous public Virtue, Renunciation, and Self-Devotion; while others beheld in it only personal Rivality, Enmity, and Resentment.

But, relative to his Junction with his present Colleague Lord North, the Suffrages of the World, from the highest, down to the lowest Classes, united to reprobate it in a greater or in a less Degree. And I have always thought that Fox himself, in his Impatience to regain Office, miscalculated, or did not sufficiently appreciate, the Operation

on the public Mind, of his Conduct; in thus taking to his Bosom in March, 1783, the very Minister, on whose Head, in March, 1782, he had invoked the utmost Vengeance of an offended and ruined Nation. Some longer Interval of Time was required, to reconcile Men to such an apparent Dereliction of Principle, and so total a Sacrifice of Decorum, at the Shrine of Ambition. Here the Transmutation had been so rapid, as not only to shock the most ordinary Understanding; but, even to impress with secret Concern or Disgust, many of those who, nevertheless, affected to justify, and to support the Measure. Pope says,

“*Last, through some certain Strainers well refin’d,
Is gentle Love, and charms all Female Kind.*”

But it must pass through those Refiners, and leave its Dross behind, or conceal it, before Love can charm, or challenge Respect. I have heard Colonel Macalister, late Governor of the Island of Penang in the East Indies, frequently assert, that there existed in the Town of that Colony, a Receptacle or Space of Ground, surrounded by Walls, into which was commonly thrown

every Species of corrupted and putrefied Substance. In a hot Climate, the Process from Dissolution to Revivification, we know, is very quick. Maggots in immense Numbers, of a prodigious Size, were speedily generated or produced from this Filth; which, the Chinese Inhabitants of the Settlement, who possessed no Means of regular Subsistence, and who therefore were not fastidious about their Diet, used to collect with Rakes, from off the Heaps of Carcases, and to devour immediately, after frying them in *Ghee*, or melted Butter. Colonel Macalister indeed added, that the Chinese who used such Aliments, became subject to cutaneous and leprous Diseases of the most inveterate Kind. We perceive however, that all animal and vegetable Substances perpetually change their Forms; and disgusting as this Recital may be, that Sentiment only arises from the Rapidity of the Metamorphosis. Precisely of the same Kind, in a political Sense, appeared the Coalition between Lord North and Fox; a Transformation, which being consummated in the Space of a few Hours, was then imposed upon the House of Commons and the Nation. But, the English, indignant at such a Compact,

which revolted their moral Feelings; rejected in general with Abhorrence, the Dish served up to them, and dismissed the State Cooks who had prepared it for the Country.

Well aware as Fox was therefore, that though he had a second Time forced his Way into high Employment, yet he neither enjoyed the Favor of the Crown, nor any longer possessed the Affection of the People in general; it was natural he should look to some other Quarter, for permanent Support. In the two Houses of Parliament, where he commanded a decided Majority, he beheld the Foundation on which he might construct a Citadel, unassailable, as he conceived, either by the Sovereign, or by the Nation. India, which presented the Materials for his Edifice, seemed to invite his Exertions to re-model that vast Empire, convulsed and half subverted by internal Discord or Corruption, added to external Hostilities. Burke, whose Friend or Relation of the same Name, William Burke, was already stationed in the East, as Agent with the Rajah of Tanjore; and who had, himself, taken a most active Part in all the Parliamentary Discussions arising out of the

Reports of the Secret and Select Committees, during the two preceding Sessions; aspired with equal Ardor, to second Fox in this great Undertaking. It had even been announced from the Throne, when the King terminated the Sitting of Parliament, in the preceding Month of July, that India would form the first Object of their Deliberations, on their again meeting for Business.

During the Course of the Autumn, Fox and Burke therefore, aided by the Law Officers of the Crown, drew up, and prepared the memorable *Bill*, which it was intended to introduce, as soon as the Session should commence in November. They communicated all the Heads and Outlines of it, to Lord North; with whom, indeed, as being in his Department, the Measure ought strictly to have originated: but, who was induced in this Instance, as in many other Cases, to allow the Energies of his Colleague, added to the superior Information possessed by Burke on the Subject, to supplant, and in some Measure to supersede him in his official Functions. The *Bill*, thus far organized, and having been generally approved in the Cabinet, was then submitted to the King,

for his private Perusal and Sanction ; accompanied with becoming Expressions on their Part, of the Wish and Desire entertained by Ministers, to accommodate it to His Majesty's Ideas upon every Point, before it should be brought into Parliament. Unable of himself, by the Powers of his own Mind, without some Assistance, to form a competent Judgment upon its complicated Provisions, Operation, and general Results, it was understood and believed that the King had early thought proper to lay it confidentially before Lord Thurlow ; desiring at the same Time to know his legal Opinion respecting its Nature. Common Rumour added, that the Opinion delivered by Lord Thurlow, represented it as calculated to render Ministers independent of the Crown ; and as containing many Clauses injurious to, or nearly subversive of, the British Constitution itself : but, that His Majesty was advised to wait for its more complete Developement, before he expressed any Disapprobation, or attempted any Resistance. Such might be considered the general State and Aspect of Things in the first Days of November, when a curious Incident which unexpectedly took Place at St. James's, and which excited no little Spe-

culution, seemed to shew that the Ground on which the Ministry stood, was hollow and treacherous.

Sir Eyre Coote, who long commanded the Armies of the East India Company, on the Coast of Coromandel, with distinguished Reputation, and whose Name is immortalized in the modern History of Asia; after repulsing Hyder Ally, and rescuing the Carnatic, expired at Madras, worn out and extenuated by Disease, on the 26th of April, 1783; having survived his Antagonist Hyder, scarcely five Months. The Intelligence of his Decease, which was transmitted overland, reached Leadenhall Street, early in November. No sooner had it been communicated to Fox, than he immediately destined the Ribband of the Order of the *Bath*, which became vacant on Sir Eyre's Death, for one of his intimate Friends, Mr. Bielby Thompson. This Gentleman, who possessed a very fine Estate in Yorkshire, at Wetherby Grange, near the Town of that Name; sat at the Time in Parliament, as Member for Thirske in the County of York. Fox, after conferring on the Subject, with the Duke of Portland and Lord North, whom he ac-

quainted with his Intentions, repaired to St. James's; where having gone into the Closet, he announced to the King, the Event that had taken Place in India. He then mentioned Mr. Thompson, as the Person whom he wished, on the Part of Ministers, to recommend for the vacant Ribband; and His Majesty in Answer, seems to have expressed that Species of Acquiescence, more probably tacit, than couched in precise Words, which the Secretary at once interpreted, whether judiciously or not, to constitute full Compliance. Without waiting therefore, for any more explicit Declaration from the King on the Subject, as Prudence seemed to dictate, Fox informed Mr. Thompson, of his having received the royal Assent; and added, that the Investiture would take Place at the next Levee. Directions were accordingly issued to Norroy, King of Arms, and the proper Officers belonging to the Heralds' College, to attend at St. James's for the Purpose. The Circumstance being publickly known, Mr. Thompson was felicitated by Anticipation, on the Honour destined for him: but, the Sequel proved that Fox had either miscalculated or misunderstood, the whole Transaction.

On the Day fixed, His Majesty went to St. James's at the usual Hour, to prepare for the Levee. After he had finished dressing, he sent out the Groom of the Bed Chamber in waiting, as was his frequent Custom, to bring him Information relative to the Number of Persons who were arrived. The Gentleman returning, acquainted the King, that besides a great Crowd come to attend the Levee, the Officers of the *Bath* stood likewise without, ready for the Investiture. With some Surprise marked in his Countenance, the King asked, what Investiture he meant? To which Question he replied, not without Hesitation, that he understood it was intended to confer the Order of the *Bath* on Mr. Bielby Thompson, who was attending there in Person for that express Purpose. His Majesty made no Answer; and immediately afterwards, the Duke of Portland entering, went into the Closet. In the Course of his Audience, the King observed to him, that no *official* Account having been as yet received from India, of Sir Eyre Coote's Death; however authentic the Information of that Event, transmitted from Madras, might prove; and his Ribband, together with the other Insignia of the Order,

not having been hitherto delivered back to himself; he apprehended it would be informal to fill up the Vacancy, till those Points were previously ascertained and executed. The Duke, taken by Surprize, after attempting respectfully to bring His Majesty to another way of thinking, withdrew; and finding Mr. Fox in the next Room, communicated to him this most unexpected and mortifying Piece of Information.

The Secretary, equally astonished, as well as chagrined, instantly went in, when a long Conversation took Place between him and the Sovereign. In its Progress, Fox stated that having some Days preceding, laid the Business before His Majesty; and conceiving that he had obtained his royal Approbation and Consent to confer on Mr. Thompson the vacant Red Ribband, it had been so signified to that Gentleman; who, together with the proper Officers, were then waiting without, in Readiness for the Ceremony. He added, that in Point of Fact, no possible Doubt could be entertained of Sir Eyre Coote's Death; and that a Disappointment, after the Preparations and Publicity of the Affair, could not fail to be attended with very un-

pleasant Consequences to Administration, in the general Opinion. To all these Arguments and Expostulations, the King, after alledging his own Reasons, remained inflexible. Fox therefore quitting the Closet, returned to his Colleagues, various of whom, assembled in the outer Room, were waiting under considerable Anxiety, and imparted to them the unsuccessful Result of his Audience. No little Confusion ensued among them. Mr. Thompson, apprized of the mortifying Fact, returned Home. The Officers of the *Bath*, ordered to withdraw, were acquainted that the Ceremony expected, would not take Place on that Day. Every Person present, formed his own Comments or Conjectures, respecting the Scene which had just passed under his Eyes; and the old Courtiers did not fail to draw Inferences from it, highly adverse to the Duration of Ministers. It was obvious that the King, who felt no Disposition to oblige them, had got Possession of the Advantage Ground in the Contest; whereas Fox had acted with some Degree of Indiscretion, as well as Precipitation, in presuming upon an Assent, rather implied or assumed, than unequivocally expressed. Many Men considered the

whole Proceeding, as a Thing concerted, and the Result of deeper Causes than were apparent to common Observers. By exposing the Administration to Ridicule, as well as to Mortification, it unquestionably served to prepare the public Mind, for some approaching Convulsion or Alteration in the Government.

If the Business of Sir Eyre Coote's Ribband, was attended with these unpleasant Results to the Ministry, they received on the other Hand, just at this Time, a prodigious Accession of Strength and Consideration, from the avowed Junction of the Prince of Wales; who having attained his twenty-first Year in the preceding Month of August, had recently established his Court and Residence at Carlton House. Nature had bestowed uncommon Graces on his Figure and Person, nor were his Manners less highly distinguished than his Birth. Probably, James, Duke of Monmouth, Son of Charles the Second, did not excel him in all these bodily Accomplishments. Like the Princes of the House of Brunswick, he manifested an early Tendency to become corpulent; nor did he, like George the Third, repress that

Disposition by Abstinence or Renunciations. Convivial, as well as social in his Temper, destitute of all Reserve, and affable even to Familiarity in his Reception of every Person who had the Honour to approach him; he presented in these Respects, a Contrast to the shy, correct, and distant Manners of the King his Father. Endowed with all the Aptitudes to profit of Instruction, his Mind had been cultivated with great Care; and he was probably the only Prince in Europe, Heir to a powerful Monarchy, competent to peruse the Greek, as well as the Roman Poets and Historians, in their own Language. Capable of warm and steady Friendship, he possessed a Heart not less susceptible of Love, and alive to the Impressions, as well as to the Seduction, of female Charms. Humane and compassionate, his Purse was open to every Application of Distress; nor was it ever shut against Genius or Merit. Even if these Virtues were mingled with considerable Alloy, yet his Facility, his ardent Pursuit of Pleasure, and his Inattention to Economy, all might derive some Apology from his Youth, and the Elevation on which he stood; Circumstances that necessarily ex-

posed him to great, as well as corresponding Temptations of every Kind.

Nor ought we, if we candidly examine the Subject, to feel either Surprise, or any Degree of moral Disapprobation, at the Predilection and Preference which he had imbibed, and which he openly manifested for an Administration, odious to his Father. When he looked back on the twenty-three Years of George the Third's Reign, he beheld little Matter of Admiration, though ample Reason for Regret.* At the Peace of 1763, Lord Bute had sacrificed or restored to France and Spain, almost all the Acquisitions of Pitt. Wilkes and "Junius," aided by Churchill, had covered with Opprobrium, or overwhelmed with Ridicule, almost all the Ministers employed between the Treaty of Fontenbleau, and the Commencement of the American War: nor had the Sovereign himself escaped their severe Animadversions on his personal Conduct and Government. In the Gulf of the American Contest, the Treasures of England had been expended, her Navy disgraced, her Commerce nearly destroyed, her public Burthens accumulated,

her national Debt immensely augmented, her Armies defeated or made Prisoners, and we had finally lost a vast Empire beyond the Atlantic. Precisely as this calamitous Consummation took Place, the Prince of Wales, emerging from the Restraint under which he had been hitherto held, made his Appearance on the Theatre of public Life, and emancipated himself from parental Superintendence or Controul. It was not merely natural, but, almost unavoidable, that he should view those Events through the Optics and Representations of Fox and Burke, rather than through any other Medium. Neither George the Second, nor Frederick his Son, could plead the same Apology, or exhibit such valid Causes to justify enlisting, as they respectively did, under the Party adverse to the Measures of the Crown. Fox and his Friends, who well knew how to improve these favourable Circumstances, contrived to effect a deep, as well as a permanent Impression on the Affections, no less than on the Understanding, of the Heir apparent.

[11th November.] The Session now commenced ;—a Session rendered conspicuous beyond any other of the long Reign of George

the Third, by the Magnitude, Singularity, and Importance of its Events; unless we should except from this Remark, the Parliament that met in November, 1788, on the King's memorable Malady. A Species of ostensible Unanimity, like the Calm that sometimes precedes the Storm, characterized its Opening; Mr. Pitt concurring warmly in the Address to the Throne moved by Administration, for approving the definitive Treaties signed with France, Spain, and America: though he did not fail to remark with indignant Asperity, on the Inconsistence of thanking the Crown for merely consummating the very Work, of which he and his Colleagues had laid all the Foundations; in Consequence of conferring which national Benefit, they had been driven from Office. "Yet," concluded he, "if the Measures which Ministers mean to propose, should meet my Ideas, and appear to me salutary in their Nature, I will not endeavour to defeat them by an ignoble Opposition; but, I will on the contrary give them my best Support." Fox, with much Ingenuity, endeavoured to demonstrate to the House, that the definitive Treaties, far from being servile Transcripts of the Prelimina-

ries, were on the contrary, materially altered in Favour of this Country. And with a View to prove his Assertion, he particularized three Articles, on each of which, as he asserted, important Ameliorations had taken Place. These were, first, relative to the Condition of the British Inhabitants of the Island of Tobago; secondly, an accurate Definition of the geographical Limits, within which the Gum Trade on the Coast of Africa might in future be carried on; and lastly, the precise Boundaries affixed to the Possessions of our Allies in the East Indies. I own however, that the aggregate Merit of these Concessions, or rather Alterations, did not appear to me entitled to much Encomium. They seemed to be rather Inaccuracies or Inadvertencies, than Defects; and were such Blemishes, as every Administration must equally have perceived and remedied, after the Lapse of a few Months.

Pitt made little Answer to the Secretary of State's Speech, in the Progress of which, he had announced his Intention of bringing forward almost immediately, his Plan for the new Government of India. But, Governor Johnstone, with the Warmth, not to say Vio-

lence, which characterized every Sentiment that usually fell from his Lips; claimed for Mr. Hastings, all the Merit of expelling Tippoo Sultan from the Carnatic, as well as of effecting a Peace with the Mharatta Empire:—Services, which, if they were justly due to the Ability or Wisdom of the Governor General, as Johnstone asserted, might have challenged higher Testimonies of national or parliamentary Approbation, than Fox's boasted Improvements contained in the definitive Treaty made with France. Johnstone concluded by warning the Ministers, not to enforce any Plans for the Administration of India, without previously consulting the Persons, who, from local Knowledge and Experience, knew the Remedies most applicable to the Disorders of those remote and valuable Possessions. The Treasury Bench observed a profound Silence, and the House soon afterwards broke up; all Men looking forward with Anxiety to the great Measure now announced from ministerial Authority, and of which the leading Features were already known by common Report, to be of the most vigorous, as well as affirmative Nature. The celebrated "East India Bill" followed, after the Interval of a

few Days. It was natural to suppose that Lord North, within whose Department lay all Regulation of our Concerns in that Quarter of the Globe, would of Course open the Measure officially to the House. But, instead of so doing, he absented himself on Account of Indisposition, leaving Fox to perform the Task;—a Line of Conduct, which, whether it arose from real Necessity, or whether it was preconcerted, operated very disadvantageously on the Minds of many Individuals attached to Lord North, who had hitherto supported the *Coalition*. They beheld themselves in Fact, completely abandoned by their ancient Leader; who seemed to have delivered up himself, his Followers, his Sovereign, and his political Principles, to the uncontroled Dominion of his new Associates, Fox and Barke.

[18th November.] I scarcely ever remember, during the Time that I sate in Parliament, a Day on which public Expectation was wound up to a higher Pitch, than when Fox opened his Bill. He did it in the most able and masterly Manner, detailing with Perspicuity, in Language equally lucid and persuasive, the accumulated Embarrass-

ments, Abuses, and Mal-Administration, which had necessitated the Adoption of a Measure of Vigor, for the Extrication of the East India Company. Having stated the Grievances, among which he did not omit Hastings's ambitious, profuse, and oppressive Policy, as the leading Source of the Calamities under which India laboured; and having declared that nothing except a total Change of the ancient System, could effect any real Benefit, he proceeded to unfold his gigantic Plan. "My Intention is," said he, "to propose the Formation of a Board, consisting of seven Individuals, invested with Power to appoint, as well as to displace, all Officers throughout Indostan; and under whose Authority, the whole Government or Administration of our extensive Possessions in the East, shall be placed. My next Proposition will be for the Establishment of an assistant or subordinate Board, to be composed of eight Persons; to whose Superintendence shall be submitted all the commercial Concerns of the East India Company. But, the latter Board is designed to be subject to the absolute Control of the seven first named Commissioners; who, as well as the others, are to

“hold their Sittings here in England.”—“I mean that Parliament shall in the present Instance, name all the Commissioners; and I intend their Duration to be for the Term of three, or of five Years, which Time will enable us to form an Estimate of the Efficacy and Utility of the Institution. If Experience shall prove it to be beneficial, I would then give to the King, the Power of filling up all future Vacancies among the superior Commissioners. To the Court of Proprietors would be left the Right of Nomination at the inferior Board.”

When he had thus developed the Outlines of his proposed *Bill*, and endeavoured to demonstrate its salutary Operation, if adopted; at the same Time anticipating and replying to such Objections as, he conceived, might be made to it; he proceeded. “The Situation of the Country,” observed he, “demands of a Minister, not only vigorous Measures, but, even a Degree of Risk, and Superiority to personal Considerations of Danger. This is not a Moment, in which a Secretary of State can remain idle. Those who prefer Indulgence before Application, may retire to private Life. My Office calls for Exertion.” Then reverting to his Coa-

lition with Lord North, he assured the House, that no material Difference of Opinion had arisen between him and his noble Colleague, during the past Summer. The Experiment of a mutual Oblivion of past Animosities, and a cordial Co-Operation for the Benefit of their Country, had fully succeeded. "On the present Occasion I lament, indeed," added he, "that Illness and Infirmary should deprive me of the great Abilities possessed by that noble Person; but I am authorized to declare, that we perfectly coincide in Sentiment respecting the Subject now before Parliament; and as the Bill must demand a certain Time for its Discussion, I trust I may still promise myself the Benefit of his powerful Support." As the strongest Proof of Lord North's Acquiescence in, and Approbation of the Measure, Colonel North, his eldest Son, seconded Fox's Motion.

All Eyes were then directed towards Pitt, who instantly rising, sarcastically remarked, that although Lord North was indisposed, yet he did not conceive, any material Impediment to public Affairs would result from it; as the Secretary of State had demonstrated how competent he was to perform, not only

his own Share of Parliamentary Business, but, the Duties of his Colleague likewise. Relative to the Bill now brought forward, he should suspend his Judgment till it came fully before the House; adding, “ Enormous Abuses have been, no doubt, committed in the Management of East India Affairs. And enormous must they be, if they can justify a Measure, which at once abrogates all the ancient Charters or Privileges granted to the Company since its first Existence.”—“ Is it not the avowed Principle of the Bill just announced, to place the whole Power over our East India Dominions, in the Hands of seven Individuals, who will derive their immediate Appointment from the Minister himself? In that Minister will center therefore prospectively, the immense Patronage of those rich and extensive Provinces. I am ready, as far as regards my own Opinion, thus early to declare, that the whole System of the Secretary of State appears to be absolute Despotism on one Side; and on the other, the most gross Corruption.” These severe Animadversions, however just they might be in themselves, could not however arrest the Progress of the Measure, which

proceeded with unexampled Rapidity, thro' the lower House of Parliament.

It is no longer possible, after the Lapse of above thirty Years, to deceive either ourselves or Mankind, relative to the Nature, Provisions, and Effects of the *Bill* in Question. Its most determined Enemies cannot dispute the Energy, Vigor, and Decision, which breathed through every Clause; nor will candid Men refuse to allow the beneficial Tendency of many of its Regulations. But, neither can the Friends of Fox, however they may idolize his Memory, deny the unwarrantable Spirit of Ambition, Rapacity, and Confiscation, by which it was equally distinguished in its leading Features. The instant Seizure of all the Effects, Papers, and Possessions of a great chartered Company; the total Extinction of the Court of Directors, who had so long conducted its Affairs; and the Substitution of two new Boards, named by the Ministry, through the Medium of Parliament, for the future Government of India;—these Measures, however their Necessity might apparently be demonstrated, seemed rather revolutionary Subversions of Property by arbitrary Au-

thority, than suited to the mild, moderate, and equitable Spirit of the British Constitution. Other Features of the *Bill*, appeared still more open to Objection, since they evidently vested in Administration, and therefore in Fox, as the Ministerial Leader, a Power independent of the Sovereign. Such, in particular, might be esteemed the Clause, which ultimately extended the Duration of the Act, to *four* Years; a Term exceeding the possible Period to which the Existence of the House of Commons then sitting, could be protracted, they having already entered on their fourth Session.

Many other Regulations, growing out of the *Bill*, or connected with the Measure, excited just Alarm. Even in the subsequent Selection of the Seven Commissioners, who were to be appointed for the future Administration of the East India Company's Affairs at Home and Abroad, Fox's Ascendant over his Colleague was clearly defined: Lord Fitzwilliam, as the personal Representative of the deceased Marquis of Rockingham, being placed at the Head of the Board; while Mr. Frederick Montagu, another most respectable Adherent of the same political

Party, stood second in the List. Colonel North, Viscount Lewisham, and Sir Gilbert Elliott, the three next Commissioners, represented Lord North's Interest and Connexions. No Division was attempted on any of these Names, but I well remember the general Laughter excited through the Opposition Ranks, when Colonel North was proposed. Indeed, Fox was so well aware of the Sneers or Comments to which that Nomination would give Rise, that he anticipated them in his Speech on the Occasion. But, in order to secure at once the Majority of Voices, together with the efficient Controul of the Board itself; Sir Henry Fletcher, one of the Representatives for the County of Cumberland, who in the Year preceding had been raised to the Dignity of a Baronet, by the Marquis of Rockingham; and Mr. Robert Gregory, Member for Rochester, were added to the Number. Both these last named Gentlemen, well known for their devoted Attachment to Fox, and possessing Seats in the House of Commons; having likewise in their own Persons, recently and repeatedly filled the highest Situations in the East India Direction; it was obvious, must be resorted to as Guides, on Account

of their local Knowledge and Experience in the Company's Concerns. No Measures, it must be owned, could have been more ably concerted, for bringing under Ministerial Influence, and for permanently retaining under their Subjection, the immense Patronage, and, all the Sources of Power, or of Emolument, connected with India: while, on the other Hand, it was well understood, that the first Employments, civil and military, from the Post of Governor General of Bengal, or Commander in Chief at Calcutta, down to the Seats in Council at Madras and at Bombay, were already promised or filled up, principally with Members of Parliament, distinguished for their Adherence to Administration. The Names of the Individuals destined for these high Situations, became circulated in every Company; and as many of them were better known among the Club at Brookes's, than in Leadenhall Street; the Consciousness of all India being speedily subjected to their rapacious Hands, by no means tended to reconcile or to tranquillize the public Mind.

[20th November.] Happily for the British Constitution, the Activity and Energy of

Opposition, seemed to keep Pace with the bold Policy and Ambition of the Secretary. Mr. William Grenville, then Member for the Town of Buckingham, and youngest of three Brothers who have all filled with Distinction some of the highest Employments of State, under the Reign of George the Third; came eminently forward on the present momentous Occasion. In a Speech of great Length, and greater Ability, he gave Promise of those vigorous Powers of Mind, which he has since unfolded in the upper House of Parliament, both in, and out of Office. He wanted, indeed, the commanding Tone, the Majesty, and all the captivating Rotundity, as well as Splendor of Pitt's Eloquence; but, in Solidity of Argument, in Depth of Thought, and the Qualities that constitute a Statesman, he might be thought to equal his distinguished Relation. Having pointed out in the most convincing Terms, the Rapacity, Despotism, and personal Aggrandizement, which lay concealed behind the ostensible Regulations of Reform, in Fox's Bill;—having endeavoured to unmask the Attempt made to hoodwink and deceive the House, by nominating Commissioners who would look only

to the Minister, and not to the Sovereign, for the Duration of their Power;—he demanded, “by whom has a Plan so pregnant “with Ruin to the Constitution, been originated and matured?—By the very Man, “whose Voice has during many Years been “loudest in declaring, that the Influence “of the Crown is excessive, and big with “Danger to the Liberties of the Country.” In Language more measured, and destitute of classic Ornament, but, not less calculated by its very Brevity to impress his Audience, Jenkinson stated the Measure projected, “as setting up within the Realm, a Species “of executive Authority, which, would be “independent of all Controul on the Part of “the Sovereign.” Nor did he fail to expose and to denounce the audacious Spirit of Legislation, which could propose a Plan so subversive of every Principle on which rest the Liberties of England. Two Individuals who have risen in our Time to the highest Honors and Dignities of the Bar, Scott and Erskine, both, I believe, first presented themselves on that Evening, to the Notice of the House; but, on opposite Sides: the former attacking, the latter defending, Fox’s Bill. Scarcely any Impression of the

Speech pronounced by Scott, remains on my Mind or Memory, except a general Idea of the Calmness and Candour which characterized it. One only Sentiment has survived in my Recollection, when he strikingly observed, that, "though Ministers, by the Words which they had put into His Majesty's Mouth, at the Opening of the Session, had called upon Parliament to *deliberate*; yet it was now obvious, that instead of *consulting* on the Affairs of India, the Secretary of State had only convoked them for the Purpose of *Decision*."

Fox, in his Reply, while he treated Scott with great Marks of Consideration, and even of Respect for his Talents, as well as for the temperate Mode in which he had delivered his Opinions; exhausted on Jenkinson the severest Epithets of Reproach. "I well anticipated," exclaimed he, "long before they were uttered, the Observations which would proceed from that Quarter. When I first heard the Doctrine broached, of *separating the Crown from its Ministers, and treating them as divided Interests*, I instantly foresaw who would take the Lead on the present Evening. Such Doc-

“ trines could originate from no other Individual. When the Measures of Government call for Censure or Punishment, then, indeed, I admit, Ministers are solely responsible: but, in almost every other Point of View, nothing can be more invidious or false, than to make such a Distinction.” Pitt, notwithstanding, who doubtless already knew the Ground, pressed the Secretary of State upon this tender Subject, with redoubled Force. Having remarked on the Inconsistency and Contradiction of Fox’s Assertions respecting the Unity of the Sovereign and his Ministers, “ We hope indeed,” added he, “ that they do materially differ. Whenever Administration passes the Limits of Justice and of Moderation, we trust that we shall always be able clearly to distinguish the Minister from the Sovereign. The Secretary has exerted much Ingenuity in attempting to conciliate and blend two Powers, which are in themselves distinct. I can however discover no Reason for his introducing the present Bill at so early a Period of the Session, and pressing it forward through the House, without allowing it a full Discussion, except the Design of settling Ministers in the Enjoyment of un-

“limited and absolute Power.” It was evident by these Expressions, how imprudently Fox had acted in bringing forward a Measure, which, besides its rapacious Features, and its arbitrary Spirit, enabled his Opponents to accuse him, not without good Reason, of labouring to build up his own Greatness, and to cement his own Power, at the Expence of the Prince whom he served. He thus opened with his own Hands, the political Abyss, in which he was eventually swallowed up. So blind is Ambition, unless regulated and restrained by Judgment, as well as Moderation! Irritated at the Motives imputed by Pitt and his Friends, to Administration, in framing the East India Bill, Burke rose towards the Close of the Debate, rather to indulge his Spleen, and to vent his Anger, than to apply to Pitt’s Arguments, the Touch-stone of Reason. “Those Arguments,” he said, “came, not from the Head, but, from the Heart; and therefore neither merited, nor were capable of receiving any Answer. The Ministerial Opponents knew their own base Motives, for which Reason they attributed to others, the Feelings by which they were, themselves, animated.” No Division however, as

yet took Place, and the Bill proceeded forward with unexampled Rapidity; while every other Topic of Conversation throughout the Metropolis, and I might almost say, throughout the Kingdom, was suspended in the Contemplation of this new, as well as comprehensive Measure.

[27th November.] Both Sides meanwhile, prepared for the greatest Exertions, and it was evident that Ministers, secure of a decided Majority in each House of Parliament, dreaded nothing except Delay. But, the Heads of Opposition had already found effectual Means to inform the Sovereign of his Danger, and to rouse him to Resistance, though its Effects were not immediately perceptible. Fox, confident in the Superiority of his Numbers, which Circumstance he thought he had well ascertained; and instructed by all past Experience since the Period of the Revolution in 1688, that no British Sovereign could venture to oppose himself personally against the Representatives of the People, sustained by the Peers; only calculated the Time which his *Bill* would demand in its Passage. He did not sufficiently reflect, that he had lost in great

Measure the popular Support, without having acquired the Favor of the Crown. Nor did he seem to have justly appreciated the general Disapprobation, or rather Detestation, which the East India Bill eventually excited through all Ranks of Society. On these powerful Auxiliaries, though hitherto not fully matured, Pitt confidently counted. Never, on any Occasion, did Fox display the vast Capacities of Memory, lucid Arrangement of Ideas, and Facilities of clothing his Matter in Language of Energy and Effect, with which Nature had endowed him, more fully than on the second reading of his *Bill*! Having endeavoured by a Series of Arithmetical Reasonings, founded, as he asserted, on the Accounts presented by the East India Company at the Bar of the House, with the View of shewing their Solvency; to prove that they were on the contrary, in a State of Distress approaching to Bankruptcy; Fox added, "I well know that in bringing forward the present Measure, I expose my own ministerial Situation to Hazard. But, when, on great national Grounds, I can establish a System, at once salutary, as well as useful, to his Country and to India, I value little

“ the personal Risks that I may encounter.
“ If I fall, I shall fall in a great and glorious
“ Struggle, not only for the Welfare of the
“ Company, but, for the Benefit of the Peo-
“ ple of Britain, and of Indostan.”

Lord North, who had hitherto been absent from the House ever since the Commencement of the Session, attended in his Place on that Evening, seated by Fox's Side. He even spoke at considerable Length, in Support of the Bill; but, as I thought, without his usual Animation, and Powers of Persuasion or Entertainment. Not a Scintillation of that Wit, which so often electrified or delighted his Hearers, pervaded his Speech; and though it displayed great Ability, the Understanding, rather than Conviction or Inclination, seemed to dictate all he uttered. Pitt, on the other Hand, fastened like a Vulture, on the Secretary's Measure, which he held up to the Abhorrence of all Mankind, as “ the
“ most desperate and alarming Attempt to
“ exercise Tyranny, which ever disgraced the
“ Annals of this, or of any other Country.”
“ Is the pretended Relief,” exclaimed he,
“ which we are to administer in Asia, to be
“ grounded on Injustice and Violence in

“ Europe?—I pledge myself to the World
“ at large, to point out the fatal Operation
“ of this *Bill* on every Thing sacred or dear
“ to Englishmen; to prove its inimical In-
“ fluence on our Constitution and Liberties;
“ and to establish by incontrovertible Evi-
“ dence, the false and pernicious Principles
“ on which it is founded. But, all these Par-
“ ticulars necessarily demand Time, which
“ the indecent, as well as unprecedented
“ Precipitancy of the Business, virtually
“ proscribes.”—“The Secretary has passed in
“ Review, the Statements made by the Com-
“ pany, and the Accounts presented at the
“ Bar, with a Rapidity which renders Com-
“ prehension difficult, and Detection almost
“ impossible. For this, as well as for many
“ other Reasons, I trust there can be no
“ Objection to defer the Debate for a single
“ Day, in order that the Falsehood of the
“ Assertions made, may be rendered mani-
“ fest to every Comprehension.” Vainly
however were any Reclamations addressed
to Ministers who dreaded above all Things,
the Operation of Delay; and who, after
having taken the Cabinet by Storm, were
now impatient to secure their Possession of
Power, beyond the Reach of Accident or

Fortune. Fox refusing to postpone the Discussion even for a few Hours, the Division took Place; which, as being the first Trial of Strength on the *East India Bill*, excited no little Expectation. It proved a Triumph to the *Coalition*, and seemed to set at Defiance all further Opposition within the Walls of that House of Parliament; Administration carrying with them 229 Votes, while the Minority did not exceed 120. Under these prosperous, but, fallacious Appearances, terminated the Month of November.

December.] Fox himself gave indeed the strongest Indication of his own Apprehensions, from the Interposition of Delay, by the Haste, not to say the Precipitation, with which he propelled the Bill through the House of Commons. Notwithstanding the Opposition given to it in every Stage, by Mr. Pitt and his Friends; in Defiance of Petitions presented from the Proprietors, as well as from the Directors, of the East India Company; and equally contrary to the general Sentiment of the Capital, no less than to the almost unanimous Voice of the Nation, which soon began to manifest itself; he

pushed forward the Measure with indecent Ardor. Scarcely three Weeks elapsed, from the Time of his moving for Leave to bring in the Bill, on the 18th of November, to his Appearance at the Bar of the House of Peers, on the 9th of December; when he presented it in Person, "*magna comitante* "*Caterva*," after its having passed the House of Commons. An ordinary Turnpike, Canal, or Enclosure Bill, if opposed in its Principles or Progress, might have taken longer Time, than did this gigantic Experiment to render Administration in some Measure independent of the Crown, and of the People. Yet, so well had the Secretary meditated his Plan, such was the Parliamentary Strength possessed by the *Coalition*, and such the Ascendancy of Fox over the Lower House, that upon every Division, he carried the Question by a vast Superiority of Numbers, generally exceeding the Proportion of two to one. On the Question of going into the Committee, which took Place on the first of December, I quitted Lord North, whom I had commonly supported up to that Time, and joined the Minority: conceiving it to be, upon every View of the

Subject, improper longer to adhere to a Minister, who seemed to have forsaken himself.

The Consternation which Fox's *Bill* occasioned in Leadenhall Street, among that Description of Men against whom its Provisions were known to be peculiarly levelled, was commonly, though erroneously, said to have proved fatal to Sir William James, who died very suddenly, just at this Time. It is however true that he was seized with an Indisposition, while sitting in the House of Commons, during the Progress of the "East India Bill," which compelled him instantly to return Home; but he recovered in a certain Degree the Attack, though he never afterwards quitted his own House. His Death took Place instantaneously, during the Performance of the Ceremony of his only Daughter's Marriage with the late Lord Ranciff, then Mr. Boothby Parkyns. I knew Sir William James with great Intimacy, and discussed with him, the probable Results of the East India Measure, during the short Interval which elapsed between his first Seizure, and the Day of his Decease, at his Residence in Gerrard Street, Soho.

His Origin was so obscure, as almost to baffle Enquiry, and he had derived no Advantage from Education ; but he possessed strong natural Abilities, aided by a Knowledge of Mankind. Having been sent out early in Life, to Bombay, in the East India Company's naval Service, he there distinguished himself, by commanding the memorable Expedition undertaken against Angria the Pirate ; when we made ourselves Masters of Fort Geriah, his principal Establishment on the Coast of the Concan. Returning to his native Country after this successful Enterprize, by which he acquired not only some Fortune, but, considerable Reputation ; he rose to the first Employments at the India House, as a Member of the Court of Directors ; sat in successive Parliaments ; was elevated by the Friendship of the late Earl of Sandwich, when First Lord of the Admiralty, to the Baronetage ; and had been elected Deputy Master of the Trinity House, in the preceding Month of June, when Lord Keppel was chosen Master of that Corporation. Those Persons who asserted that Fox's *Bill* killed him, seem to have forgotten that he had nearly attained his Seventieth Year, when he expired. As his Dissolution took Place

on the 16th of December, he had not the Satisfaction to witness the Rejection of that obnoxious Measure, by the House of Peers, which happened on the following Day.

Never, probably, was so great a Portion of Intellect brought to bear upon one Point or Subject, in so short a Space of Time, as the House of Commons exhibited between the Opening of the East India Bill, and its triumphant Arrival in the Upper House of Parliament. All the Sources of Argument, Declamation, Wit, and Pathos, were successively touched by Master Hands. Every Species of Information enlightened the Object under Discussion; nor was any Weapon of Sophistry, Humour, or even severe Invective, left untried, which might operate on the Understanding, Passions, and Feelings of the Audience. The salient Points of Debate were so many, so striking, and so animated, as to defy the Powers of Memory; leaving on the Hearer's Mind, only a confused Recollection of their Beauty, Delicacy, or Severity. History, antient and modern, Poetry, even Scripture, all were successively pressed into the Service, or rendered subservient to the Purposes of the contending

Parties. Will it be believed that the "Apocalypse" of St. John furnished Images, which, by a slight Effort of Imagination, or by an immaterial Deviation from the original Text, were made to typify Fox, under the Form of the "Beast that rose up out of the Sea, "having *seven* Heads?" Their Application to the *seven* Commissioners appointed by the Bill, was at once so happy, and so natural, that it could not be mistaken, and stood in need of no Explanation. The Words which were made to designate the Secretary of State himself, seemed almost to identify him by a very characteristic Feature, his *bold Eloquence*. "And there was given to him "a *Mouth speaking great Things*." But, in the Duration of the Power of *the Beast*, as compared with that of the *East India Bill*, a Difference of *six Months* appeared: the "Apocalypse" stating that "Power was "given unto him to continue *forty and two "Months*;" whereas Fox's Bill comprehended *forty-eight Months*, or four Years. Pensions, Peerages, and Places, were pointed out by the Passage where it is said, "And "he causeth All, both small and great, rich "and poor, to receive a Mark in *their right "Hand*, or in their Forehead."

Mr. Scott, who now as Lord Eldon, holds the Great Seal, was the Person by whom so curious an Allusion was presented to the House ; as I think, on the third Reading of the *Bill*. But, Sheridan, though he could not possibly anticipate an Attack of such a Nature, yet having contrived in the Course of the Debate, to procure some Leaves of " the Book of Revelations," with admirable Ability found Materials in that Work, equally suited to Fox's Defence or Justification ; transforming him from " the Dragon and the " Beast," under both which Types he had been designated, to a Species of angelic or tutelary Being, by producing other Quotations taken from St. John, full as applicable in their Tenor to the Secretary of State.

[1st December.] The Powers of Mind exerted throughout the Progress of the Measure, seemed to be concentrated in the memorable Debate that took Place upon sending the *Bill* to a Committee, which was opened by Powis. His beautiful and severe Animadversion on its double Author ; a Metaphor drawn likewise from Holy Writ ; made a strong Impression. " I hear indeed,"

said he, "the Voice of Jacob," meaning Fox; "but the Hands are those of Esau." Lord North, who was present at the Time, though much indisposed, quitted the House in the Course of the Evening, overcome with the immoderate Heat. Powis, who did not hesitate to denominate the *Bill*, "the Modern Babel, which already almost reached the Clouds;" and who compared Fox's Treatment of the East India Company, with "Shylock's Demand of a Pound of Flesh, to "be cut nearest the Heart:" expressed nevertheless his personal Respect for the Secretary; but added, that, he "wished to "see him the Servant, not the Master, of his "Sovereign." No Speech pronounced within the Walls of the House of Commons, throughout the whole Proceedings during the great Experiment made by Ministers to consolidate their Tenure of Office, tended more to accelerate their Downfal, than did this of Powis. He was neither a Candidate for Place, nor a Courtier, whose Eyes were directed to St. James's; nor a Lawyer, looking to the Dignities and Preferments of Westminster Hall. As a Country Gentleman, representing an extensive County, he delivered with manly Firmness, his Opi-

nions; which were founded in common Sense, couched in Language of great Force, rising at Times to a Pitch of affecting Eloquence, and sustained by unimpeached Probity. During the American War, he had served with Zeal and Ability under Fox, in the Front Ranks; had conducted by his active Exertions, to diminish the Influence of the Crown, and had greatly contributed to drive Lord North from the Helm. But, he now beheld the Structure which he had lent all his Efforts to overturn, raised anew on more solid Foundations; while "the Man of the People, was converted into the Champion of Influence."—"If," said Powis, "the Secretary of State's Moderation did not form a Guarantee against his Ambition, we might imagine him, when communing with himself, thus to express his Intentions; 'I have, it is true, forced myself into high Employment, by joining a Man and a Party, whom, after successive Years of Parliamentary Opposition, I had expelled from Power. But, by my Junction with the noble Lord in the blue Ribband, I have lost much of my Popularity. Still, as I have great Influence throughout the Country, sustained by powerful Connex-

“ ions, I will make good Use of my Time.
“ The Indies shall constitute the Basis of
“ my Greatness. Availing myself of my
“ present Prosperity, I will construct a golden
“ den Fortress in this new Land of Promise;
“ which, by placing in it a select Garrison
“ of chosen and determined Adherents, on
“ whose Zeal and Attachment I may implicitly
“ rely, I can render impregnable. A
“ Fortress which will not open its Gates,
“ either to the Summons of the People, or
“ to the Commands of the Sovereign.’—“ For
“ God’s Sake, let us unite to crush this awful
“ Pile, before it swells to such a Size, as
“ to leave no Room for the other component
“ Parts of the British Constitution! Already
“ scarce a Vestige of the East India
“ Company is to be traced; and if the present
“ *Bill* passes, we shall consign the Glory,
“ the Dignity, and the Liberties of our
“ Country, to ultimate, as well as certain
“ Destruction.”

Burke, unable longer to observe Silence after such Reflexions, then rose; and in a Dissertation, rather than a Speech, which lasted more than three Hours, exhausted all the Powers of his mighty Mind, in the Jus-

tification of his Friend's Measure. The most ignorant Member of the House, who had attended to the Mass of Information, Historical, Political, and Financial, which fell from the Lips of Burke on that Occasion, must have departed, rich in Knowledge of Indostan. It seemed impossible to crowd greater Variety of Matter applicable to the Subject, into a smaller Compass; and those who differed most widely from him in Opinion, did not render the less Justice to his gigantic Range of Ideas, his lucid Exposition of Events, and the harmonic Flow of his Periods. There were Portions of this Harangue, in which he appeared to be animated by Feelings and Considerations the most benign, as well as elevated; and the Classic Language in which he made Fox's Panegyric, for having dared to venture on a Measure so beset with Dangers, but, so pregnant, as he asserted, with Benefits to Mankind, could not be exceeded in Beauty.

Indeed, if I were compelled to name the finest Composition pronounced in the House of Commons, during the whole Time that I remained a Member of that Assembly, from 1780 to 1794, I should select this Speech of

Burke. Nor can I be suspected of Partiality either towards the Author, or the Production. The former, though he excited Admiration by his Genius, was too much the Slave of his own Prejudices, too implacable, petulant, irascible, and impervious to Reason on many Subjects, to awaken general good Will, or to conciliate Affection. To the whole System which his Arguments were meant to support, I was decidedly hostile. Yet I did not on these Accounts, render less Justice to the matchless Powers of Intellect which matured so wonderful an Effusion. Far from suffering by a Comparison with the Orations of the greatest ancient Masters, Greek or Roman, I believe it would gain on an impartial Examination. Among the Passages of peculiar Beauty, might be named his Picture of the young Men sent out from England to India, in Order to amass sudden Wealth. "Animat-
"ed," said he, "with all the Avarice of
"Age, and all the impetuous Ardour of
"Youth, they roll in, one after another,
"Wave after Wave: while Nothing presents
"itself to the View of the unhappy Natives,
"except an interminable Prospect of new
"Flights of voracious Birds of Passage, with

“Appetites insatiable for a Food, which is
“continually wasting under their Attacks.—
“Every other Conqueror, Arab, Tartar, or
“Persian, has left behind him some Monu-
“ment, either of royal Splendor, or of useful
“Beneficence. England has erected neither
“Churches, nor Hospitals, nor Schools, nor
“Palaces. If To-morrow we were expelled
“from Indostan, Nothing would remain to
“indicate that it had been possessed, during
“the inglorious Period of our Dominion, by
“any better Tenants than the Ouran-Outang
“or the Tiger.” This fine Burst of Imagination, even though we should conceive it to be too highly coloured, yet presents one of the most vivid Assemblages of animated Life, ever submitted to the human Understanding, while it appeals to the best Feelings of our Nature.

His Eulogium of Mr. Francis, (now Sir Philip,) whether we acquiesce in its exact Accuracy of Resemblance, or not, cannot be perused without Admiration. Yet was it exceeded by his Portrait of Fox, whom Burke compared with the Lawgivers of Antiquity, while legislating for Asia, and despising every personal Consideration, in Or-

der to diffuse Felicity over distant Portions of the Earth. "He is well aware," added Burke, "of the Snares which are spread in his Path, from personal Animosity, from *Court Intrigues*, and possibly, from popular Delusion. But, he has hazarded his Ease, his Security, his Power, and his Popularity, in the present noble Attempt. This is the Road which all Heroes have trod before him. He will recollect that Obloquy constitutes a necessary Ingredient in the Composition of Glory. He will recollect, that it was not only in the Roman Customs, but, is in the Nature and Constitution of Things, for Calumny to accompany Triumph." However classic might be these Allusions, and whatever Magic might pervade the whole of Burke's Discourse; or however persuaded he was of the Reality of all the predicted Advantages, that would flow from the Measure; the moral Effect of his Speech in producing Conviction, by no means corresponded with the Admiration which it excited. Fox, who reserved himself on that Night to answer Dundas and Pitt, rose at a late Hour, and spoke with his usual Ability. "A Charter," observed he, "is only a Trust for some

“given Benefit. If abused, it may, and
“ought to be resumed. Sovereigns are
“sacred; yet, with all my Reverence and
“Attachment towards them, had I lived
“under the Reign of James the Second, I
“should certainly have contributed my Ef-
“forts in those illustrious Struggles, which
“rescued Us from hereditary Servitude, and
“recorded the Doctrine that *Trust abused,*
“*is revocable.*” On Mr. Thomas Pitt, who,
when alluding to the *East India Bill*, had
asserted that “it was a Measure which
“might be naturally expected from a Coali-
“tion of two Men, who having first seized
“by Force on the Government, evidently
“intended to finish their Career by dealing
“a Death-blow to their Country,” the Se-
cretary animadverted in Terms of more than
ordinary Asperity. “I will tell that Honor-
“able Gentleman,” said Fox, looking him
steadily in the Face, “that the Men who
“have brought forward this Bill, are not
“to be brow-beaten by studied Gesture;
“nor terrified by tremulous Tones, solemn
“Phrases, or hard Epithets. To Arguments,
“they are ready to reply. He charges Us
“with having *seized upon the Government.*
“His Majesty changed his Ministers, last

“ April, as he did twelve Months earlier;
“ each Time in Consequence of a Vote of
“ this House. So his Predecessors did;
“ and his Successors will, I doubt not, imi-
“ tate the Example. The Votes of Parlia-
“ ment always have, and always will, I
“ trust, decide on the Duration of Ministry.
“ Such is the Nature of our Constitution.”

Then addressing himself to the House at large, “ A double Game,” exclaimed Fox,
“ is playing on this Occasion by Opposition,
“ to which, I hope, this Assembly, and the
“ whole Kingdom will pay Attention. It
“ is attempted to injure Administration
“ through two Channels at the same Time;
“ through a *certain great Quarter*, and
“ through the People. To the former, they
“ assert that the present Bill increases the
“ Influence of Ministers against the Crown :
“ while they persuade the Nation, that it
“ augments the Power of the Sovereign to
“ their Injury. That they will fail in both
“ these Experiments, I have no Doubt. In
“ the *great Quarter*, I trust, they are well
“ understood ; because the *princely Mind of*
“ *that elevated Personage, forms a Security*
“ *against their Devices.* They will speedily

“dissipate by their Conduct, any temporary Illusion which they may have spread among the Multitude.” Nor was Fox less severe in his Remarks upon Jenkinson, than he had been, when commenting on Mr. Thomas Pitt. The former of those Gentlemen being seated near William Pitt on the Opposition Bench, as was likewise Dundas, “When I behold,” observed the Secretary, “the Right Honorable Gentleman now surrounded by the Objects of his early and hereditary Aversion, and hear him revile *the Coalition*, I am lost in Amazement at his Inconsistence. Well may my noble Friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer assert, that *We* never sought to attain Power by Cabal, or Intrigue! The safest Path to royal, as well as to popular Favor, is by reducing the Burthens, and restoring the Glory of the Nation.” Then fixing his Eyes on Jenkinson, “Let those Persons,” said he, “*who aim at Office through other Channels, by mysterious and inscrutable Means*, speak out! If they will not, the Country must perceive that their Arts cannot bear Examination, and that their Safety lies in their Obscurity. The Principles which *We* profess, are thoroughly

“ known. With them I prefer to perish,
“ rather than maintain Myself by adopting
“ others.” After endeavouring to do away
the Effect of Powis’s *Soliloquy*, which
seemed deeply to affect him, Fox concluded
by addressing his last Words to Pitt; who
in the Course of a most able Speech, had
declared that “ he would stake his Cha-
“ racter with the Public, on the dangerous
“ Nature and Tendency of the *Bill* under
“ Discussion.” “ I meet him,” said the Se-
cretary, “ in his own Terms of Defiance,
“ and I oppose him, Character against Cha-
“ racter. I stake upon the Excellence of
“ the present Measure, all that is most dear
“ to Men; Talents, Honour, present Reputa-
“ tion, and future Fame. All these I risk
“ on the constitutional Safety, the enlarged
“ Policy, the Equity, and the Wisdom of the
“ *Bill*.” There were Persons who thought
that under all the Circumstances of the
Case, the *Stake* was by no Means equal;
and that it resembled the Armour of Diomed,
when weighed in Value against that of Glau-
cus. The Division, however, which took
Place at a very late Hour, fully equalled
the Expectation of Ministers, being more
than two to one. Ayes, 217. Noes, 103.

So numerous and flattering a Support, which proved how well the Secretary had prepared the Ground, only accelerated the final Catastrophe.

[8th December.] On the third Reading of the Bill, a new Auxiliary appeared on the Side of Opposition, in the Person of Mr. John James Hamilton, since raised by Pitt to the Dignity of a Marquis; who having taken his Seat only a few Days preceding, as a Member of the House, opened the Debate in a Speech of considerable Ability. Wilkes drew however far more Attention; not only by the decided Part which he took against the Measure itself, but, by the classic, nervous, and pointed Terms in which he inveighed against its Fabricators. “No Epithet,” said he, “can reach the Enormity of its Guilt; and I shall therefore content Myself with characterizing it as a swindling Bill, drawn and presented by the Secretary of State, to obtain Money on false Pretences. I consider it as the bitter Fruit of *the Coalition*:—for, after the lamentable Consequences that resulted from the Infraction of the *American Charters* by the noble Lord in the blue Ribband, I

“ believe he would never have ventured to
“ attack the Franchises and Property of a
“ great *chartered Company*, if he had not
“ connected himself in impious League with
“ so daring a Colleague. When he had se-
“ cured a fit Accomplice, the Plan and
“ Share of the Plunder being previously
“ adjusted, it was resolved between them,
“ to rob the East India Company. I protest
“ that I nourish no ill Will personally, to
“ either of the Secretaries of State; but I
“ deprecate and dread the unnatural, incon-
“ gruous Union of two Individuals, who
“ never could have been brought to coalesce,
“ except for the Division of the public Spoils,
“ and for the Partition of all Power among
“ themselves; to be followed by the Destruc-
“ tion of public Freedom, and the Inde-
“ pendance of this Assembly. The noble
“ Lord possesses, I believe, the most un-
“ spotted Integrity: but, Love of Place,
“ combining with Indolence of natural Dis-
“ position, led him throughout the whole
“ Progress of the American Contest, to con-
“ nive at Men in public Office fleeing the
“ State, beyond the Example of former
“ Times. His own Hands were clean; but,
“ not so those of his Dependants. As a

“ private Nobleman, he is formed to be admired and beloved. To a rich Vein of elegant, brilliant, and classic Wit, he joins easy Manners, unaffected Suavity of Temper, and every amiable or companionable Quality. Would to Heaven I could commend his Reverence for the Constitution, his Love of Freedom, and his Zeal for the Preservation of those Privileges and Franchises, which constitute the Birthright of Englishmen !”

This accurate and admirable Portrait, sketched by the Hand of a Master who well knew the Original, was followed by an Apostrophé to Fox, not less calculated to attract Attention. “ With the present Colleague of that noble Lord,” continued Wilkes, “ I have acted during many Sessions, in Hostility to him. By his Side I fought in all the Struggles to repress the Power of the Crown. With what Admiration have I listened to his manly Eloquence, sustained by the Powers of Argument and Reason! *So perfect a Parliamentary Debater, this Assembly has never beheld!* I grieve when I reflect how unavailing have been all our Efforts, to pre-

“vent the Dismemberment of so large a
“Portion of the Empire: But, I am indig-
“nant when I see the noble Lord occupying
“one of the highest Employments, re-con-
“ducted to Power, nay, caressed and che-
“rished by the very Man who solemnly
“engaged to impeach him, as the *great*
“*Criminal of State, the Corrupter of Par-*
“*liament, the Author and Contriver of our*
“*national Destruction.*”

From every Quarter of the House, the keenest Shafts were aimed at the Measure; some of which penetrated deep, while others only appeared to graze on the Surface; but, all left their Impression. While Pitt, powerfully sustained by Mr. William Grenville, and Dundas, attacked it with the Arms of Reason; others tried the Operation of Irony and Ridicule. Arden, who soon afterwards became Solicitor General, on the Change of Ministry, elung to it through every Stage with great Pertinacity and Spirit, not unaccompanied by legal Ability. The seven Commissioners, and their eight Assistant Directors, were compared by Mr. Wilberforce, to so many Doctors and Apothecaries, summoned for the Purpose of putting the Patient,

the East India Company, to Death, according to the Rules of Art. Many Members, long accustomed to consider Fox, as the Star by which they guided their political Course, covered him on this Occasion, with Reproaches or Maledictions. Martin, a Man, who though not distinguished by superior intellectual Parts, yielded to none in Probity, invoked Curses on the *Coalition*, as the Grave of all Principle. "When once the present *Bill* is passed," said he, "Men who think and act independantly, may spare themselves the Trouble of coming down to this Assembly.—I will, however, steadily oppose it, as I have done in every former Stage, till it is sent up to the Peers. I trust, they will esteem it utterly inconsistent either with their Justice, or with their Dignity, to pass such a *Bill*. But, even if it should be otherwise, one Hope is still left us.—I mean, that His Majesty will refuse his Assent to so pernicious a Measure." Martin did not hesitate to declare, that neither Sir George Savile, nor Sir Charles Turner, the latter of whom was already dead; and the former lay extenuated by Diseases which speedily conducted him to the Grave;—would, had they been present, have lent any

Countenance or Support to the East India Bill.

Sir Richard Hill, to whom Scripture was familiar, compared the Secretary's Conduct in affecting to protect and caress the East India Company, while he immolated them to his Ambition; with the Treachery of Joab to Amasa, who at the Moment that he pretended to embrace him, stabbed him to the Heart. "If," added Sir Richard, "I might present a Gift to him who will have extended at his Feet, the whole Patronage of the East, and who by this *Bill* will be rendered greater than any Oriental Nabob:—If the Secretary would deign to accept from my Hands, so small a Boon as a Motto, I will venture to offer him, "*Non sum qualis eram.*" In more homely Language, destitute of adventitious Ornament, Sir Cecil Wray declared that the Measure impressed him with Horror, from its Enormity, Corruption, and pernicious Consequences to the State. Some of the finest Passages of Shakspeare, taken from his "*Julius Cæsar*," were applied by Scott and Arden, to Fox, as the new *Dictator*, with extraordinary Effect. Powis accused the Secretary with deceiving himself and the House, by Professions of Zeal and

Disinterestedness, which served only as a Cover to his ambitious Designs. "He still persists," said Powis, "to maintain the Purity of his political Principles, and to bid his deluded Countrymen confide in his fair Promises. But, I form my Judgment by Measures, not by Men. And by that Criterion I mean to try all the Supporters of the present enormous Measure, which aims a mortal Blow at the Independence of Parliament." Jenkinson, temperately, but, in Language of Energy, depicted the unconstitutional Nature of the Power thus attempted to be set up, which must prove subversive of the Royal Prerogative; and from opposite Sides, Fox was assailed as the Enemy of his Country, who sacrificed to his insatiable Ambition, the Fame, the Character, and the Consideration, that he had attained by a long Series of public Services.

Not that he by any Means wanted Defenders distinguished for Integrity, as well as for legal and parliamentary Ability. Mr. Erskine spoke repeatedly, at great Length, during the Progress of the Bill, in Support of this obnoxious Measure. His Enemies pronounced his Performances tame, and des.

titute of the Animation, which so powerfully characterized his Speeches in Westminster Hall. They maintained that, however resplendent he appeared as an Advocate, while addressing a Jury, he fell to the Level of an ordinary Man, if not below it, when seated on the ministerial Bench; where another Species of Oratory was demanded to impress Conviction, or to extort Admiration. To me, who, having never witnessed his juridical Talents, could not make any such Comparison, he appeared to exhibit shining Powers of Declamation. Lee, the Attorney General, in a Speech replete with that coarse, strong, and illiberal Species of Invective, which usually accompanied his Addresses to the House; and which always appeared to me, more befitting the Robin-hood Society, than accommodated to a Legislative Assembly; treated with indignant Contempt, the Repugnance manifested to violate the Charter of the East India Company. He did not even hesitate to describe that Charter, esteemed by many Members so sacred, and incapable of Subversion except by arbitrary Violence, as "a mere Skin of Parchment, to which was appended a Seal of Wax." This imprudent, if not censurable Declaration, coming from

such a Quarter, however qualified or palliated it might be by subsequent Explanations, operated injuriously to Ministers. With the same contumelious Levity he spoke of his Office, which, he said, "he valued not a Rush;" adding, "my learned Friend, (Arden,) should have it To-morrow, if I did not conceive that by continuing to hold it, I can be of some Utility to Administration." The Chancellor of the Exchequer, irritated at the severe Animadversions made by Mr. Thomas Pitt, on the Violence with which Administration had seized on the Reins of Government, denied the Charge with much Indignation. His Eloquence fell however far short of his Feelings, and was addressed rather to the moral Sense of his Auditors, than it appealed to their Understandings, or to their Judgment.

General Burgoyne, arriving Post from Ireland, (spontaneously, as he asserted;) and quitting the meaner Duties of Commander-in-Chief, which Employment he held in that Kingdom, in Order to fulfil his higher Obligations; as a Legislator at Westminster; spoke warmly in Favor of the Bill. Having, many Years earlier, acted as Chair-

man of one of the first Committees appointed by the House, for inquiring into the Affairs of the East, he was heard with Attention. He confirmed all the Horrors and Enormities attributed by Burke, to the Europeans who governed Asia: Atrocities, which the General illustrated by a Citation prepared for the Purpose, extracted from the Sixth *Æneid* of Virgil, descriptive of the Guilt of a powerful Criminal, such as Hastings might be esteemed, condemned for his Crimes on Earth, to undergo the Pains of Tartarus. It did not impress the House as powerfully as Arden's Line from Shakspeare, directed to Fox,

“ It is the bright Day that brings forth the Adder.”

or as Wilberforce's Invocation to the Secretary of State, under the Character of *the fallen Angel*, furnished by Milton. I remember Burke addressing Lord North, when first Minister, in somewhat similar Terms, shortly before his Resignation, early in 1782. Riggby professing an equal Contempt for Quotations from Shakspeare, or from Milton, and expressing his Admiration at hearing Scripture fall from the Lips of a Lawyer;

with none of which Materials for Debate, he said, that he came provided; yet professed to have furnished himself with some Arguments applicable to the Subject under Discussion. Without Circumlocution, or any false Scruples of fastidious Delicacy, he declared his utter Disregard of the chartered Rights of the Company, which he said, he considered "as a Bugbear, only fit to intimidate Children." He even advised their Violation, as the primary Step to all Reform in the Administration of India.

No Individual distinguished himself more throughout the whole Progress of these interesting Proceedings, than Sheridan; whose matchless Endowments of Mind, equally adapted to Contests of Wit, or of Argument, and ever under the Controul of imperturbable Temper, enabled him to extend invaluable Assistance to the Minister. But, neither was Fox wanting to himself, or to his Friends. On the contrary, performing every Function of a General, and of a private Soldier; combating in the front Ranks; leaving no Charge unrepelled, no Insinuation unnoticed, no Argument unrefuted; he filled with Astonishment, as well as with Admiration, even those who thought themselves

best able to appreciate the Magnitude and Extent of his parliamentary Talents. After defending his *Bill* from the severe Attacks of Pitt, he did not disdain or omit to answer the Allegations made by various Members of inferior Weight. To Powis, to Scott, to Dundas, and even to Martin, he severally directed the most pointed Replies, calculated to justify him, not only as a Minister, but, in his individual and moral Capacity. Determined on carrying through the *Bill*, without a Moment's Delay; apprehensive of new Obstacles arising, every Hour; within, as well as without the Walls of the House; and seeming to regard Parliament as convoked, not for the Purpose of Deliberation, but, of Decision; he refused to postpone the Measure, even for a single Night. Vainly, Scott adjured him, in the Language of Desdemona to Othello, "me not to-night, my Lord! let me live "but one Day!" The House, towards two o'Clock in the Morning, became so clamorous for the Question, that a Division was on the Point of taking Place, when an unexpected Incident prolonged the Discussion, and arrested the universal Impatience of the Assembly.

Mr. Henry Flood, one of the most celebrated Orators in the Irish Parliament, who had just been brought in for the City of Winchester; rising for the first Time, prepared to speak in the British House of Commons. His Appearance produced an instant Calm, and he was heard with universal Curiosity, while he delivered his Sentiments, which were strongly inimical to the East India Bill. Though possessing little local, or accurate Information on the immediate Subject of Debate, he spoke with great Ability and good Sense: but, the slow, measured, and sententious Style of Enunciation which characterized his Eloquence, however calculated to excite Admiration it might be in the Senate of the Sister Kingdom, appeared to English Ears, cold, stiff, and deficient in some of the best Recommendations to Attention. Unfortunately, too, for Flood, one of his own Countrymen, Courtenay, instantly opened on him such a Battery of Ridicule and Wit, seasoned with Allusions or Reflections of the most personal and painful Kind, as seemed to overwhelm the new Member. He made no Attempt at Reply, and under these Circumstances began the Division. It formed a tri-

umphant Exhibition of ministerial Strength, the *Coalition* numbering 208, while only 102 Persons, of whom I was one, followed Pitt into the Lobby. Yet within twelve Days afterwards he found himself first Minister, and so remained for above seventeen Years. Meanwhile, the Secretary never relaxed his Exertions, till, having surmounted all Opposition, he carried up the Bill, accompanied by a vast Number of his Adherents, who participated in his Success, to the Bar of the House of Peers. Its Passage through that Assembly being already secured, as he justly conceived, on solid Grounds, and the royal Negative never exciting any Apprehension, the Measure seemed apparently to be placed beyond the Reach of Fortune.

[9th—17th December.] But, with the Arrival of the East India Bill in the House of Lords, terminated nevertheless the prosperous Career of Ministers. The King, whose Opinions and Wishes, however they might have been suspected by, or even known to a few Persons, were not as yet publicly divulged, or clearly ascertained; now coming forward, as the Urgency of the

Occasion seemed to demand, communicated through authentic Channels, his utter Disapprobation of the Measure. Lord Temple, though one of the first Individuals thus authorized, formed by no means the sole or exclusive Medium, through which the Royal Pleasure was so signified and circulated: Very little Time, in Fact, remained to the Sovereign, if he desired to avert the impending Misfortune. For, the Secretary of State, who seems to have been well aware that as soon as the Measure was felt and understood, it would excite universal Alarm; had betimes secured such a Majority in the Upper House, as must speedily have left to the Crown no possible Means of Relief, except one scarcely known to the British Constitution since the Revolution of 1688; namely, a Refusal of the Royal Assent to the *Bill*, after its Passage through both Houses of Parliament. In this critical Juncture, His Majesty caused such Arguments or Expostulations to be offered to many Members of the House of Lords, Spiritual, as well as Temporal; and the Necessity of Resistance was so strongly depicted by his Emissaries, as to overturn all Fox's Machinery in an Instant. Proxies given to the

Minister, were suddenly revoked; and after first leaving the Administration in a Minority of Eight, upon the Question of Adjournment; the Bill itself was subsequently rejected two Days later, by Nineteen Votes. One hundred and seventy-one Peers voted on the Occasion, either in Person, or by Proxy; a prodigious Attendance, if we consider the limited Numbers of the British Peerage at that Time.

The Archbishops of Canterbury and of York, led the Way, though the former Prelate, whose Connexions, political and matrimonial, seemed to connect him with the *Coalition*, had been previously regarded as a firm Supporter of the Measure. The latter (Markham,) who was not less a Courtier than a Scholar, throughout Life always kept his Eye constantly fixed on the Throne. Nor can it excite Surprise, that all those noble Individuals without Exception, who occupied Situations in the Royal Household, or near the King's Person, should, without fastidiously hesitating, give the Example of Tergiversation. The greater Number among them, had only assented to the East India Bill, on a Supposition, and un-

der the Belief, that it had received the previous Concurrence or Approbation of His Majesty. They abandoned Ministers, and joined the Crown; manifesting by their Votes, how vast is the personal Influence of the Sovereign, when strenuously exerted, over the Members of the Upper House of Parliament. The Prince of Wales, who had only taken the Oaths and his Seat in that Assembly, on the first Day of the Session, the 11th of November; when it was moved to adjourn on the 15th of December, had voted in Person with the Administration. But, having received a Notification of his Father's Disapprobation of the East India Bill, and of the whole Conduct of Ministers, he absented himself on the second Division, when that Measure was finally rejected. Lord Rivers, one of the Lords of the King's Bedchamber, who had given his Vote by Proxy to the *Coalition*, on the first Question, withdrew it on the second Division; as did the Earls of Hardwicke and of Egremont. Lord Stormont, though as being a Member of the Cabinet, and President of the Council, he had personally supported the *Bill* on the 15th, when he considered it as having the Sanction of the Crown, yet voted on the

other Side, forty-eight Hours afterwards. His Uncle, the Earl of Mansfield, who was supposed to have influenced him in this Determination, exhibited the same Example. Both were present in the first Division, as Supporters of the Measure; and both appeared in the House as Enemies to it, when thrown out on the 17th of December. The Earl of Oxford, one of His Majesty's most antient Servants, who had been near his Person more than twenty Years, in the Capacity of a Lord of the Bedchamber; having been induced to support the *Coalition* by his Proxy on the 15th, sent it to the opposite Side, on the subsequent Division. Fox and Burke, together with many of their warmest Adherents, who during the Progress of the first Debate had remained on the Steps of the Throne, in order by their Presence to encourage their Friends in the Upper House, had the Mortification to witness the Defeat experienced on that Evening;—a Defeat which served as a Warning of its final Destiny.

The Debates which took Place in the Upper House, on the two Questions of Adjournment and of Rejection; however infe-

rior an Interest they excited, when compared with the Discussions that agitated the House of Commons on the same Subject; yet strongly arrested national Attention. Lord Thurlow, after reprobating the *Bill*, and treating with contemptuous Ridicule the Reports of the "Select Committee," on which defective or erroneous Foundations, the pretended Necessity for the Measure rested; declared that "if it passed, the King would in Fact take the Diadem from his own Head, and place it on the Head of Mr. Fox." In more intemperate Language, scarcely befitting so dignified an Assembly, the Earl of Abingdon, a Nobleman of very eccentric Character, and restrained by no Forms of parliamentary Decorum, while expressing his Abhorrence of a Coalition which had given Birth to this political Monster; qualified Charles James Fox by Name, as "a Mountebank Secretary of State, accustomed formerly to ascend the Stages at Covent Garden, and at Westminster Hall, from which he harangued the Mob; but, now calling himself the Minister of the People, though animated by the criminal Ambition of Cromwell, and aiming at regal Power." He even

accused the Secretary with exceeding in Violence, by his Seizure of the East India Company's Charter, the worst Acts of those Tyrants, Charles the Second, and his Brother James. With great Pertinacity, the Duke of Richmond pointed out the Injustice of the Measure: nor did the Ties of Consanguinity which connected him with Fox, prevent him from severely arraiguing the recent Grant of a Pension of one thousand Pounds a Year, made to Sir William Gordon; in Order, by vacating his Seat for Portsmouth, that he might enable Government to introduce Mr. Erskine into the House of Commons, at this critical Juncture. Unsolicited, and unconnected with Party, Lord Camden entered his strong Protest against such an Infraction of all Law on the Part of Administration, by bringing forward an Act, not, as it professed to be, of Regulation, but, of rapacious Confiscation.

Ministers, thus powerfully assailed, if they exhibited the Talents, by no means displayed the Energies, exerted by their Opponents. Lord Loughborough, on whom devolved the principal Weight of defending the Government, found himself ill supported in that

Attempt. The Speaker, Lord Mansfield, voted indeed with Administration on the Question of Adjournment; but remained altogether silent, and extended no active Assistance. Conscious that his Colleagues had lost the Confidence of the King, the Duke of Portland alluded with Warmth, in the Course of Debate, to Lord Temple's recent Audience of the Sovereign, which he denounced as a Violation of the Constitution. But, that Nobleman avowing the Fact, and justifying it as the Privilege of an hereditary Counsellor of the Crown, to offer Advice, called on the Duke to bring forward against him a specific Charge. Lord Shelburne, though he once, I believe, attended in his Place, took no Part whatever in the Discussions, nor ever voted on the Question, either in Person, or by Proxy:—a Line of Conduct, which, when we consider that he had been expelled from Power by the *Coalition*, only a few Months earlier, opened a wide Field for political Speculation, on the Motives of his Silence or Secession.

It will be readily admitted, that if we try the Conduct of George the Third, in personally interposing to influence the Debates,

and to render himself Master of the Deliberations of the upper House, by the Spirit of our Constitution, as fixed since the Expulsion of James the Second ; it appears at first Sight, subversive of every Principle of political Freedom. Such an ill-timed and imprudent Interference, had in Fact laid the Foundation of all the Misfortunes of Charles the First. But, the same Line of Conduct, which in 1641 excited general Indignation, in 1783 awakened no Sentiment of national Condemnation. On the contrary, the King's Position being perfectly understood ; the Impossibility of his Extrication from the Ministerial Toils wound about him, appeared so clearly demonstrated, unless by a decided personal Effort to arrest the Bill in its Progress through the House of Lords, that the Country at large affixed its Sanction to the Act. There were, nevertheless, it must be admitted, many Individuals who thought that the royal Disapprobation should have been earlier signified ; and who inclined to accuse the King of something like Duplicity or Deception, in his Treatment of Administration. We must however candidly allow, that he was not bound to observe any Measures of scrupulous Delicacy, with Men who

had entered his Cabinet by Violence, who held him in Bondage, and who meditated to render that Bondage perpetual. Nor was it easy for him to discover and to detect, by the Force of his own Intellect, without legal Assistance, the Invasions on his Independence and Prerogative, contained in the Provisions of the *Bill*, as originally submitted to him; till they were exposed and made manifest, by the Discussions that took Place in the House of Commons. The Rapidity with which it was carried up to the Peers, and the little Delay which Fox evidently meant it should there undergo, before it was presented for his Concurrence, left him no Option in his Line of Conduct, and very little Time for Action. These Reasons exculpated and justified an Interference, apparently so irreconcilable with the Genius of the British Constitution. A Fact not generally known, but, not the less true, is, that His Majesty was advised, and had taken the Resolution, if the Bill had actually passed the House of Lords, to have nevertheless refused to it the Royal Assent. He would then have instantly changed his Ministers, dissolved the Parliament, and thrown himself for Protection upon his People.

Those Persons who have had the best Opportunities of knowing his Character, and appreciating his Firmness under the most alarming or distressful Circumstances, while sustained by the Conviction of acting right; will not doubt or disbelieve the Fact. Nor would the Nation, probably, have condemned his Conduct, or have delivered him up again into the Hands of the *Coalition*. Happily however, the middle Line which he adopted, prevented the Necessity of recurring to such painful Extremities.

[17th December.] Though Fox's Bill was thus rejected by the upper House, he still remained, together with Lord North, in Possession of their respective Offices, no Change whatever in Administration having yet taken Place. Fox even delivered, as Secretary of State, from the Treasury Bench, the most bitter and animated Philippic ever pronounced within the Walls of the House of Commons; in the Course of which, he dealt out every Accusation against the Sovereign, and those Members of the House of Peers; the Prætorian Bands, or rather the *Janizaries*, as he denominated them; who had strangled the Measure by their Sultan's

Order. Nor did he hesitate to compare the Paper intrusted by his Majesty to Lord Temple, which had operated such injurious Effects to the Administration, with the Rescript of Tiberius sent to the Roman Senate from Capræa, for the Condemnation of Sejanus, unheard in his Defence, and without adducing Proofs of his Guilt. In classic Language, and in the Words of Juvenal, he reprobated such an Interference, as wholly destructive of the British Constitution.

The whole of this Debate formed one of the most curious and singular Scenes ever witnessed; the Ministers being virtually out of Office, though still occupying their official Seats; while Pitt and his Friends, though nominally in Opposition, in Fact possessed the royal Confidence. Fox anticipated indeed with Certainty, the total Rejection of his *Bill* in the upper House: but, as the Peers sate late before the Division took Place, the Fact was not known at the Hour when the Secretary made his memorable Philippic. The Proceedings in the House of Commons, were opened with a sort of mock Solemnity, calculated to give them a Degree of dramatic Effect; the Mace being sent

round, on a Request made to the Speaker, for the Purpose, to summon the Attendance of all Members found in the adjacent Rooms. This extraordinary Mandate from the Chair, so unusual, was designed to spread Alarm, as if the Privileges of the House were invaded by the unconstitutional Influence or Interference of the Crown. Precedents were sought for and found, for the Vote proposed to be adopted, in the Year 1640, when the Conduct of Charles the First was said to exhibit a striking Conformity with the Act of George the Third, in thus personally exerting himself through various noble Individuals, to throw out the East India Bill. The Elements of the Business being arranged and prepared, a second Motion was proposed from the ministerial Side of the House, reprobating, as “subversive of the Constitution, the Attempt to report any Opinion of his Majesty upon a depending Bill, with a View to influence Members.” Its Object being to designate and to criminate Lord Temple, who had exerted himself more than any other Peer in circulating the royal Wishes, the Proposition was strongly opposed by Mr. William Grenville, that Nobleman’s youngest

Brother. He called on the Accuser to stand forth, and to make good the Charge.

Pitt, after treating with Derision the preparatory Formalities, which introduced the Resolution then submitted to the House, demanded on what Ground the Assertion itself reposed, except upon vague Surmise, or common Rumour? Fox now came forward for the last Time in his ministerial Capacity, and in a Speech of unreasonable Length, but, of prodigious Energy, accompanied with more than ordinary Asperity of Language, he endeavoured to rally his disheartened Troops; among whom, many already began to perceive that they had committed themselves, on erroneous Suppositions, beyond their Intention. We may indeed safely assume, that only a small Proportion of the five Hundred and fifty-eight Members who then composed the lower House of Parliament, possessed Ability, Industry, and Leisure sufficient, in Addition to local Knowledge, for enabling them to weigh in their own Scales, the East India Bill:—a Measure of so complex and comprehensive a Nature in itself; and at that Time, not at all generally understood throughout the Kingdom. Fox's Followers,

it is true, were for the most Part, zealously and personally attached to him, as their sole Leader, round whom they rallied, in, or out of Power. But, Lord North counted many Adherents, who, in supporting his Measures, believed that they were maintaining the Government, and looked more to the Minister, than to the Man. Various Individuals held Offices in the royal Household, or about the Court; among which Description of Members, a great Defection must naturally be expected. Such was the State of that Assembly on the Night of the 17th of December; one of the most extraordinary to be found in our History!

“ The Deliberations of this Evening,” observed Fox, when he rose, “ must decide
“ whether we are to be henceforward Free-
“ men or Slaves; whether this House is the
“ Palladium of Liberty, or the Engine of
“ Despotism; whether we are prospectively
“ to exercise any Functions of our own, or
“ to become the mere Echo of secret Influ-
“ ence.—I trust, Englishmen will be as jea-
“ lous of that Influence, as superior to open
“ Violence.—The *Bill*, though matured by
“ all the Abilities of this House, and though

“ supported by nearly two to one, on every
“ Division during its Progress, *will in all*
“ *Probability be lost elsewhere.* By whom?
“ By an independent Majority? No! By
“ the Votes of the Lords of the Bed-cham-
“ ber.” After exhausting his Resentment
on those noble Persons, who had, as he
asserted, “ forfeited by their Conduct, every
“ Claim to the Character of Gentlemen, and
“ degraded the characteristic Independence
“ of the Peerage, as well as vilified the
“ British Legislature in the Eyes of all
“ Europe,” the Secretary diverged to other
Topics of Declamation. “ On what Foun-
“ dation,” demanded he, “ do the Ministers
“ stand, who come into Office by Means of
“ secret Influence? Have they not a Halter
“ about their Necks? They hold their Em-
“ ployments, not at the Option of the So-
“ vereign, but, of the very Reptiles who
“ burrow under the Throne. What *Man*
“ would stoop to such Humiliation! *Boys,*
“ without Judgment, Experience, or Know-
“ ledge of the World, may thus precipi-
“ tately follow the headlong Course of Am-
“ bition, and *vault into the Seat, while the*
“ *Reins are committed to other Hands:* but,
“ the Minister who can submit to such De-

“gradation, and the Country which tolerates it, must be mutual Curses to each other.”

Having thus depicted Pitt's Position, Fox turned round upon Jenkinson. “During the Interregnum of the last Spring,” observed he, “I never had a Doubt, with whom that disgraceful Suspension of Government originated. In like Manner, no sooner were pretended Grounds of Objection stated to the East India Bill, than I instantly looked to the same Quarter. The same dark and mysterious Cabal which then invested the Throne, misleading the royal Mind with unworthy Arts, has been once more employed to perform a similar Part. But, will this enlightened Country revert to those Ages, when Princes were Tyrants, Ministers were Ministers, and Government only Intrigue?—For God's Sake, in every Case strangle us not in the very Moment when we look for Success, by an infamous Band of Bedchamber Janizaries!—When the Hour arrives, and it may not be very distant, which shall dismiss me from the public Service, I will not imitate the Example

“ set me by the late Chancellor of the
“ Exchequer, of lingering in Office, after the
“ national Voice calls on me to be gone.
“ *I did not come in by the Fiat of Majesty,*
“ *though by that Fiat I am not reluctant to*
“ *go out.* I ever stood, and wish only to
“ stand, on public Ground.—*The People of*
“ *England have made me what I am.* It
“ was by *their* Partiality I have been called
“ to a Station in *their* Service. Perhaps it
“ would not be treating *them* well, hastily or
“ precipitately to abandon the Post which
“ *they* have confided to me.” Fox concluded
nevertheless this Harangue, one of the most
violent ever pronounced in my Time, within
the Walls of the House, by an Encomium
on the very Sovereign whose Service he was
about to quit, and on whom he had thrown
out so many severe Reflections. “ No Man,”
said he, “ venerates him more than I do, for
“ his personal and domestic Virtues.” But,
as he subjoined, that “ the present Genera-
“ tion regarded his Majesty for the virtuous
“ Example which he exhibited, and Posterity
“ would long adore him for his *Progeny*,”
Pepper Arden did not fail to remark, that
Fox’s Veneration for the Sovereign arose
principally from Attachment to his *Posterity*.

Vainly, nevertheless, Pitt urged him to retire, and thus to anticipate his Dismission from Employment. Content with rendering the Majority of the House subservient to his Views, by passing various *Resolutions*, calculated not only to stigmatize the late Interference of the Crown; but, intended at the same Time to prevent the Interruption of their Deliberations, by any Act of Prerogative; all which Motions he carried by a Majority of more than two to one; the *Coalition* Ministers refused to give in their Resignation. Under these Circumstances, which called for Decision, the King displayed no Irresolution. Conscious that he had advanced too far to recede, either with Honor or with Benefit, he passed the whole of the 18th of December, in making Dispositions for the Formation of a new Cabinet; and finding, at a late Hour of the Evening, that the two Secretaries of State still declined to resign, he signified to them, by a Messenger, that he had no further Occasion for their Services. They received at the same Time, Information, that a personal Interview would be disagreeable to him; and were ordered to deliver up the Seals of their respective Departments, through the Me-

dium of the two Under-Secretaries, Fraser and Nepean. Mr. Fox immediately complied; but, Lord North having deposited the Seal of his Office in the Hands of his Son, Colonel North, one of his Under-Secretaries, who could no where be found for a considerable Time; the King waited patiently at St. James's, till it should be brought to him. Mr. Pollock, first Clerk in Lord North's Office, who had already retired to rest, being called out of his Bed, in consequence of the Requisition from His Majesty, went in Search of Colonel North. After a long Delay, he was found, and produced the Seal; which being brought to the King about One o'Clock in the Morning, he delivered it into Lord Temple's Hands, and then returned to the Queen's House.

[19th December.] On the ensuing Day, it being indispensable to form a Government with the least possible Delay, Mr. Pitt, notwithstanding his Youth, was placed at the Head of the new Cabinet, as first Lord of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer; an Instance without Precedent in our Annals, and which will probably never

be again realized ! Lord Bolingbroke, then Mr. St. John, had indeed, under Queen Anne, been made Secretary at War, as early in Life; and we have since seen Lord Henry Petty, now Marquis of Lansdown, at about the same Age, raised to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, in 1806, after Mr. Pitt's Decease. But, there is a wide Interval, from either of the above Examples, to the Elevation before us. If we reflect likewise on the decided Majority against which Pitt had to contend in the House of Commons, conducted by such Energies and Talents as Fox possessed; we may be tempted, on first Consideration, to accuse him of Imprudence and Temerity. The Event nevertheless proved, that in accepting Employment, under all the Disadvantages here enumerated, he had maturely weighed the Peril and the Consequences. Other Impediments, not less serious, presented themselves in the interior of the Cabinet recently formed; where Lord Temple insisted on the immediate Dissolution of Parliament, as a Step necessary to their ministerial Preservation, if not even to their personal Safety. But, Pitt, with consummate Judgment, while he retained in his own Hands so powerful an Engine,

which he held suspended over the House of Commons, abstained from using it, till the Progress of Affairs should justify the Interposition. Conscious that no Act of the Royal Prerogative, could be more generally repugnant to the Inclinations of the Members of the lower House, than a Dissolution before they had sat half the Period for which they had been elected, he resisted Lord Temple's Proposition; who, in Consequence immediately resigned, only three Days after his Appointment: thus involving the half-formed Administration in Confusion and Embarrassment, not wholly exempt even from some Degree of Ridicule and of Danger. Never did any Ministry commence its Career under a more inauspicious and apparently desperate Predicament, which was destined so long to retain Possession of the Reins of Power!

Pepper Arden having moved Pitt's *Writ* for the Borough of Appleby, Dundas, acting as his Delegate while he could not be personally present in the House, endeavoured to induce that Assembly to meet on the subsequent Day, (Saturday, the 20th of December,) in order to expedite the Passage of

the Land Tax. But, Fox, now out of Office, affecting to suppose that an immediate Dissolution of Parliament impended, peremptorily refused his Consent to the Proposition. He observed, that "though he did not deny the Right of the Crown to dissolve, yet no Person would venture to say, such a Prerogative ought to be exercised, *merely to suit the Convenience of an ambitious young Man.*" Lord Mulgrave, who not long afterwards became Joint Paymaster of the Forces under the new Ministry, supported Mr. Dundas; and in the Course of his Speech expressed great Pleasure, that "a Faction which had too long maintained Possession of Power, was at length driven from Place." Lord North and Fox being seated close to each other on the Opposition Bench, sustained by a very numerous Attendance of their Friends, constituting an undisputed Majority of the Members present; a loud and general Laugh arose among them, at the Word *Faction*. "I am glad," resumed Lord Mulgrave, "to find that Gentlemen are so merry upon their Misfortune. I still however rejoice that their Power is extinct. Not that I mean," looking at Lord North, "I am glad to see my noble

“ Friend in the blue Ribband, out of Employment. I respect his Character. I too well know his Integrity and Abilities, not to wish that he were in Office: but. I lament to behold him in such bad Company.” Kenyon likewise spoke on the same Side, with his characteristic Disregard of all personal Objects or Interests, though he was made Attorney General only a few Days afterwards, for the second Time. “ I am neither in the Secrets of those Persons who are just dismissed,” said he, “ nor of their Successors; and therefore I cannot know whether Parliament will, or will not be dissolved. If a Dissolution should take Place, I am ignorant whether I may have a Seat in the next House of Commons. Nor, indeed, do I wish it. But, be that as it may, I will support the Proposition of Mr. Dundas, because the most fatal Consequences to public Credit must ensue, if the Land Tax does not speedily pass.” Lord North answered both Kenyon and Lord Mulgrave, with his accustomed Suavity, Wit, and Powers of Argument: but Fox holding fast the Supremacy which he possessed over the House, refused to permit the Assembly to meet

on the following Day. Nor did Dundas venture on a Division, well knowing how decided a Superiority of Numbers the *Coalition* could command within those Walls. An Adjournment then took Place.

[20th and 21st December.] Meanwhile the Sovereign proceeded to constitute a new Administration; but, even after Lord Temple's Resignation, when the Cabinet was at length compleated, Pitt might be said to constitute its whole Strength in one House; as Lord Thurlow equally sustained the Weight of Government in the other Assembly. The great Seal was entrusted to the latter, for the fourth Time under the Reign of George the Third. Lord Gower, made President of the Council, and the Duke of Rutland, who was appointed Privy Seal, brought indeed collectively a considerable Accession of Parliamentary Interest and Connexions; but, could boast only a very scanty Addition of Eloquence, or of Talents. The new Secretaries of State, Lord Sydney, and the Marquis of Carmarthen, even if their Abilities had been of the most brilliant Description;—an Assertion which assuredly could not be made consistently with Truth;

—yet were both Members of the House of Peers: a Disadvantage only to be surmounted by Pitt's taking on himself, the whole Weight of Business in the House of Commons, and thus uniting in some Measure in his own Person, the Defence of every Department. Lord Howe, restored to the Head of the Admiralty, was re-admitted into the Cabinet; and the Duke of Richmond returned to the Ordnance: but no Mention was ever made of Lord Shelburne, for any Place in the Administration. He seemed to be completely extinct in the public Recollection.

Sir George Howard obtained the Command of the Forces; but, neither he, nor the Duke of Richmond, were taken into the Cabinet. The new Commander-in-Chief, a Man of almost gigantic Stature and Proportions, who had long been decorated with the Order of the *Bath*, was universally esteemed; himself highly bred, an accomplished Courtier, and a gallant Soldier: but, like Sir John Irwine, of whom I have had Occasion to speak, he owed his military Elevation and Employments, more perhaps to royal Favor, than to any distinguished Talents, or professional Services. He was one of the Repre-

representatives for the Town of Stamford. His legitimate Descent from, or Alliance by Consanguinity with the Dukes of Norfolk, notwithstanding the apparent Evidence of his Name, was, I believe, not established on incontestable Grounds. He attained, as did General Conway, not many Years afterwards, to the Rank of Field Marshal; a Dignity of which the British Service had antecedently furnished only a few Examples. For the Embassy to Paris, the Duke of Dorset was selected by Pitt. As he honoured me with his Friendship down to the Close of his Life, or rather till he survived himself, it may be naturally expected that I should say a few Words respecting him. He was the Son of Lord John Sackville, elder Brother of Lord George; and succeeded collaterally to the Title, on the Demise of his Uncle, Charles, second Duke of Dorset, mentioned so frequently in "Dodgington's Diary," as the Earl of Middlesex. The Duke, when named Ambassador to Versailles, had nearly attained his fortieth Year. His Person, if not handsome, was highly agreeable; his Features, pleasing; the Expression of his Countenance, noble, and interesting; his Manners soft, quiet, ingratiating, and formed for a Court; destitute

of all Affectation, but, not deficient in Dignity. He displayed indeed, neither shining Parts, nor superior Abilities. Yet, as he possessed good Sense, matured by Knowledge of the World, had travelled over a considerable Part of Europe, and had improved his Understanding by an extensive Acquaintance with Mankind, he was well calculated for such a Mission. He had passed much Time in Italy, where he imbibed a strong Passion for all the Fine Arts, and a Predilection for Men of Talents and Artists ;—a Taste which he indulged even beyond the Limits of his Fortune, and in the Gratification of which, he manifested that he inherited some of the Qualities of his celebrated Ancestor, Charles, Earl of Dorset. But, the Mediocrity of his Estate, when contrasted with his high Rank, imposed Limits on the Liberality of his Disposition. Considered as Ambassador to France, though he could not sustain a Comparison for diplomatic Ability, or Strength of Intellect, with the Earl of Stair, or with the first Horace Walpole, Brother of Sir Robert, who had represented the English Sovereign, at the Courts of Louis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth ; he might at least be regarded as

equal in Talents, to any of the Noblemen who had filled that Office during the last Years of George the Second, or under the Reign of George the Third ; if we except, as we must do, Lord Stormont. To Marie Antoinette, the French Queen, the Duke of Dorset rendered himself highly acceptable, possessed her Esteem, and enjoyed some Degree of her personal Favor;—Circumstances by no Means unessential to a Man placed in his public Situation, as that Princess performed a much more important Part in the Cabinet and Councils of Louis the Sixteenth, than did the two Queens, her immediate Predecessors. Maria Theresa, Daughter of Philip the Fourth, King of Spain, who espoused Louis the Fourteenth ; and Maria Leczinska, Consort of his Successor, possessed throughout their whole Lives, no Shadow of political Power or Interest. Marie Antoinette's Protection, aided by his Connexion with the Polignacs, had sufficed to procure for the Count d'Adhemar, at the Conclusion of Peace, the Embassy to the Court of England : but he was far inferior in every Accomplishment of Mind and of Manners, to the Duke of Dorset.

Mr. Arden became Solicitor General. Nature has seldom cast a human Being in a less elegant or pleasing Mould. Even Dunning's Person would have gained by a Comparison with Arden's Figure and Countenance. Nor were his legal Talents more conspicuous in the general Estimation of the Bar. But, his early Acquaintance with Pitt, which Time had matured into Friendship, covered or concealed every jurisprudential Deficiency. That powerful Protection, in Defiance of Lord Thurlow's avowed Dislike, or rather, Antipathy, conducted the new Solicitor General rapidly to the Honors and Dignities of the Law ; finally placing him, where almost all those Individuals patronized by the Minister, found their ultimate Repose, in the House of Peers. He possessed no mean Talents for Debate, and displayed not only Ardour, but, Ability in the Defence of his Friends. When Fox, at this very Time proposed that a Resolution should be adopted, declaring any Minister criminal who should advise His Majesty to dissolve the Parliament, Arden instantly stood up to reprobate such Doctrine. "What Impediment," exclaimed he, "can be opposed to the just Prerogative of the Crown? A Resolution

“ of this House? He must be indeed a *timid*
“ Minister, unfit to govern this great Coun-
“ try, who can be deterred from advising a
“ Dissolution, by any Terror of such a Na-
“ ture. Is *this* House of Commons to judge
“ upon a Question of their own Continuance,
“ or Annihilation? That Measure is not to
“ be tried before such Judges. It will be
“ determined by *another* House within these
“ Walls; and *They* may possibly applaud,
“ instead of censuring or condemning the
“ Resolution. I admit that it is no light
“ Matter to advise such a Step: but, the
“ Individuals who are to be annihilated by
“ its Operation, are of all others the least
“ proper to decide respecting it.” Fox re-
plied, that “ he must be a *bold* Minister in-
“ deed, who should dare to despise the
“ Voice of the People.” But, Arden rose a
second Time, and while he admitted that
the People merited every Attention, when
their Opinion was solemnly or clearly pro-
nounced, maintained, and distinctly repeated
his original Declaration. It must likewise
be allowed, that no Man in Parliament, had
given a more pertinacious and unremitting
Opposition to Fox’s East India Bill, than
Arden. The last Blow aimed at it, before it

passed the lower House, came from his Lips. For, I recollect, that after that obnoxious Measure had been carried, on the third Reading, by a Majority of more than two to one; the Solicitor General, Mansfield, having risen to move for Leave to bring up a Clause, declaring it to be a *Public Bill*; Arden exclaimed, that "he had no Objection: but, that he was not surprized at its having escaped his learned Friend's Memory, as every other Person considered the Bill to be a *Private Job*." With that Stigma impressed on the Measure, Fox, regardless of the Sarcasm, bore it in Triumph to the Bar of the Lords.

The King's Table, covered with Badges of Office, Seals, Wands, and Gold Sticks, profusely given in by the Adherents of the dismissed Ministers, presented an extraordinary Spectacle. Among the foremost to testify his ministerial Fidelity, the Honorable Charles Greville, next Brother to the Earl of Warwick, resigned his Office of Treasurer of the Household. Possessing, like his Uncle, Sir William Hamilton, an elegant Mind, and a Taste for many Branches of the fine Arts, which Pursuit had carried him into Expen-

ces beyond the Bounds of severe Prudence; his Resignation of such an Employment could not therefore be to him in any Sense, a Matter of Indifference. I have heard Mr. Greville, whom I very particularly knew, often say, that the King most kindly expostulated with him, when he entered the Closet to lay down his Place, and urged him by no Means to commit an Act so unnecessary; the Treasurership of the Household being, not a ministerial, but, a personal Situation in the Family of the Sovereign. I ought likewise to add that Fox, who well knew Mr. Greville's private Embarrassments, had, with a Liberality of Mind truly noble, exhorted him to retain his Post; absolving him at the same Time from all Considerations of a political Kind. But, his Feelings of Honor were too delicate, to permit of his following either the Suggestions of Convenience, the Exhortations of Fox, or the Expostulations of his Sovereign. He retired for several Years from Court, and from public Life, into comparative Obscurity.

Lord Hinchinbrook, less scrupulous, and perhaps with better Sense, instead of quitting his Office of Master of the Buck Hounds;

though his Father, the Earl of Sandwich, followed the Fortunes of the *Coalition*; wisely abandoned that obnoxious Party, and declined to give in his Resignation. Sir George Yonge went back to his Office of Secretary at War, which he had held under Lord Shelburne's Administration; a Post that seemed to be hereditary in his Family; his Father, Sir William Yonge, having occupied it with much Distinction, under the Reign of George the Second. Sir William, who performed no inconsiderable Part in the political Annals of that Period, was equally distinguished likewise in another Line, among the Men of Wit, Pleasure, and Gallantry. Lady Vane makes honorable Mention of him, in those Memoirs of her Life, which Smollet has inserted in the third Volume of his "*Peregrine Pickle*." I have heard Lord Sackville say, who remembered Sir William Yonge, that, when Secretary at War, having waited officially on John, Duke of Argyle, then Commander-in-Chief of the Forces, in Order to make his Report on a Matter of Business; the Duke kept him standing, while he himself remained seated for a considerable Time. Their ministerial Conference being ended, he immediately re-

quested Sir William to take a Chair. "No," "Sir," replied he, "if the Secretary at War is not worthy to sit down in the Presence of the Commander-in-Chief; it would be altogether unbecoming Sir William Yonge, to be seated in Company with the Duke of Argyle." So saying, he abruptly quitted the Room. Sir George Yonge, with whom I was much acquainted, did not want Talents, and he maintained his Place in a Debate, though he possessed no Pretension to Eloquence: but, in parliamentary Capacity, I always considered him as inferior to his Father.

[22d—24th December.] Meanwhile Fox, who remained completely Master of the House of Commons, where Mr. Pitt could not even appear during the Time necessary for his Re-election; might be said to sway with absolute Power, the Deliberations of that Assembly. His first Cares were directed to prevent either a Prorogation, or a Dissolution of Parliament, by adopting Resolutions calculated to render each of those Proceedings, difficult and dangerous to Ministers. Having consented to pass the Land Tax Bill, for which Act of Compliance with

public Necessity, he assumed no ordinary Merit, as a Proof of his Superiority to all interested or factious Views, he made a full Display of his Omnipotence within those Walls. Nor could all the Assurances given by Mr. Dundas from the Treasury Bench, though confirmed by Mr. Bankes, the Friend and Representative of the new First Minister ; declaring by his express Authority, that he would neither advise such an Act of Prerogative, nor would continue in Office, if the Crown had Recourse to it ; prevail on Fox to allow of an Adjournment for the Christmas Recess, till he had voted, without experiencing any Impediment, an Address to the Throne, of the most criminating Nature, which was ordered to be presented by the whole House. Affecting to consider Pitt as a mere Creature of secret Influence, the Child of the back Stairs, Fox treated Bankes's reiterated Protestations in the Name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with the most insulting and contemptuous Levity or Disregard. " As far as that Gentleman's private Character is concerned," said Fox, " I would readily take his Word ; " but, to speak plainly, if I was, myself, in " the Situation which he now fills, knowing " as much as I do of the Power of secret

“Influence, I would not ask any Man to take my Word. Because, at the very Moment when I might be engaged in declaring that Parliament would not be dissolved, that very Measure might be determined on, in Consequence of secret Advice.—It is the Duty of the House to banish that pernicious and baneful Agent, secret Influence, for ever from about the Throne.”

Bankes still pressing the Point, and repeating, that “if any Idea of proroguing or dissolving Parliament should be entertained *anywhere*, Mr. Pitt would instantly resign;” Fox replied, “I have no Doubt that he might act spiritedly on the Occasion: but, what Compensation could his Resignation produce to the Public, for the Evils which must result from a Dissolution?—There is not a Moment to be lost! and I hope that if any Adjournment at all takes Place, it will only be for a few Days.”

On receiving the King’s Answer, which, though gracious and conciliating in its Expressions, did not breathe the less Determination; after passing upon it the most severe Comments, as a Mixture of Duplicity and Ambiguity, Fox then permitted of an Adjournment for the short Period of Six-

teen Days ; an Interval indispensably requisite to complete the ministerial Arrangements. The Resignation or Dismission of the new Administration, was however confidently anticipated by the Party, and announced by Fox himself in one of his Speeches ;—I think, on the 24th of December ;—when he ventured to predict, that its Duration could not possibly exceed a few Weeks. “ The State of this Country,” exclaimed he, “ will not admit of a long Recess :—for, as the present Ministers *cannot stand long* ; and indeed, to talk of the Permanency of such an Administration, would only be laughing at and insulting them ; it will become necessary to move for another Set of Writs, after the Holydays, in the Room of those Gentlemen who must vacate their Seats, on the Formation of a new Government. In Order therefore to prevent the Calamities that menace the Constitution, I would propose the shortest Recess possible.”—“ It may be urged, that knowing, as I do, the Ministry *cannot last*, I manifest an Impatience to be restored to Office. I do not *know* that I shall form one of the next Administration ; but I confess, I am impatient that the Sense of the

“House may be speedily taken on the pre-
“sent Ministers.” So confident was he, in-
deed, or at least he pretended to be, of Pitt’s
inevitable Dismission, that he mentioned in a
subsequent Part of his Speech, the *Youth* of
the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the
Weakness incident to his early Period of Life,
as the only possible Excuse for his Temerity
in accepting Office. How far Fox thoroughly
believed his own Predictions of his Rival’s
imminent Fall, may perhaps be questioned;
but, the most experienced Members among
them, with Welbore Ellis at their Head,
joined ostensibly in this Opinion; which, it
must be confessed, was built upon all the
Precedents known since the Elevation of the
House of Hanover to the Throne.

Lord North, who had been absent, from
the Effect of Indisposition, during a great
Part of the Debates, while the East India
Bill was in its Progress through the House
of Commons; made ample Compensation
for his short and involuntary Retreat, by
his Presence and Exertions after the Dis-
mission of Ministers. During the Number
of Years that I sat with him in Parliament,
I never witnessed a more brilliant Exhibition

of his intellectual Powers, than on the 22d of December, when Erskine moved for an Address to the Throne, deprecating a Dissolution. Indeed, from the Instant he rose, till he concluded, almost every Sentence teemed with the keenest Wit, or with the most severe, yet delicate Satire. In the Commencement of his Speech, Lord North justified by cogent Arguments, his Union with Fox, as having been dictated by State Necessity and public Utility ; eulogizing in animated Language, the Virtues, no less than the Abilities, of his late Colleague, whom he wished in future always to be designated as his " Right Honorable Friend." " Our political Connexion," continued he, " was founded on Principles of mutual Honour. The great Points of Policy on which we had differed, being no more, we thought that without Inconsistency we might cordially act together. The Experiment has succeeded. No little Jealousies have disturbed our Union. All has been good Faith on one Part, and Confidence on the other. No unworthy Concessions were made by either Side. I appeal to my Right Honorable Friend, if I ever renounced or sacrificed any Opinion resting on Principle,

“ unless when the Propriety of such Renun-
“ ciation became apparent from Reason and
“ Argument. On the other Hand I must
“ declare in Justice to him, that he never
“ abandoned any Principle which he main-
“ tained when in Opposition to my Govern-
“ ment.”—“ We are charged with having
“ seized on the Reins of Power. This, I
“ confess, is a Charge which I do not under-
“ stand:—for, the Country waited full six
“ Weeks, without having any Administra-
“ tion. Every Effort was vainly exerted to
“ form a Cabinet, and when all Means failed,
“ the Ministers quitted their Offices. The
“ Cabinet remained empty; so that if we
“ seized on it, we could only have so done,
“ by marching in, after the Garrison had
“ fled; who, while evacuating the Fortress,
“ exclaimed, ‘ What a cursed *Coalition* is
“ this, which expels Us from our Situa-
“ tions!’—If, however, we did get Possession
“ of Power, we at least carried it by Storm,
“ bravely, in the Face of the Enemy, not
“ by Sap. We made our Advances above
“ Ground, in View of the Foe. Not by
“ mining in the dark, and blowing up the
“ Fort, before the Garrison knew that any
“ Attack was meditated.”

The Ingenuity, Pleasantry, and Force of this eloquent Defence, can hardly be exceeded. Then, after severely arraigning the Mode of Pitt's Admission into the Cabinet, which he stigmatized as surreptitious and unconstitutional; he diverged with inconceivable Humour into the Path of Ridicule, so analogous to his Formation of Mind. Alluding to the Wish expressed more than once by Mr. Martin, (borrowed from Hotspur's Invocation in Shakspeare,) that a Starling should be perched on the Speaker's Chair, who might incessantly repeat the Words, "Cursed *Coalition!*" he observed, that so long as an Honorable Member of that House, "continued to pronounce those Sounds, as "if by Rote, and without any fixed Idea, let "what would be the Subject of Debate; he "conceived the Starling to be unnecessary, "inasmuch as the Gentleman would make "just as great an Impression as the Bird, "on his Hearers." Having convulsed the House with Laughter, by this severe, but, ludicrous Remark, he compared, or rather he contrasted, the Conduct of the two Men who were shut up in the Eddystone Lighthouse, during six Weeks, with the opposite Line of Action embraced by Fox and himself.

“Those Men,” said he, “from reciprocal
“Enmity, preferred letting the Fire go out,
“and beholding the Navy of England
“dashed to Pieces, rather than lend each
“other any Assistance. But, we, animated
“by other and more enlarged Sentiments,
“considered the Preservation of the Vessel
“of State, our primary Duty; and, we
“agreed, that at all Events, the Fire in
“the Lighthouse should not be extin-
“guished.” An Allusion so ingenious, as
well as felicitous, almost electrified his Au-
dience; and if Wit could have supported or
restored the *Coalition*, it must, when falling
from his Lips, have overborne every Im-
pediment. But, the moral Impression made
on the public Mind, to their Disadvantage,
daily acquiring Strength, finally compleated
their Downfal, though the Catastrophe was
protracted for more than three Months, by
various Circumstances.

[26th—31st December.] If the Struggle
for Power had lain only between Pitt and
Fox, the former of whom, whatever might
be the Extent of his Talents, was unable to
command a Majority upon any Question that
arose in the House of Commons, while the

latter carried every Motion; the Contest would, no doubt, have been soon decided. Or, had the Dispute been, as under Charles the First, between the Sovereign, claiming to exercise Prerogatives antiquated and oppressive, on the one Hand; and the representative Body on the other, propelled and sustained by the People, as their Organs and Protectors against arbitrary Violence; —the Termination might have been foreseen without much Penetration. But, Fox, though he was become by his Union with Lord North, Master of the Deliberations of the lower House, had sacrificed to that very Union, in a considerable Degree, the good Opinion of the Country; and the Remains of his former Popularity which survived his *Coalition* with Lord North, had since been shipwrecked in the *India Bill*. He had therefore imprudently, though as it would nevertheless seem, reflectively, engaged in a Conflict, where the Crown and the Nation both combined against him. Without the Aid of the People, the Sovereign would, indeed, have been powerless. As little could the House of Peers, unsupported by the public Voice, have checked his Career. It was their Union which became irresistible. Fox, who, whatever his Admirers may

assert, possessed more Genius, Eloquence, and Talent, than Prudence or Judgment; does not appear to have deeply weighed and appreciated these Facts, before he entered the Lists. Unfortunately for him too, the Champion wanted by the Crown, and who seemed to be expressly made for the Conjunction, presented himself in Pitt. His Name, rendered illustrious by his Father's public Services; the Decorum of his Manners, so opposed to those of Fox; even his very Youth, which should have operated against him, appeared to recommend him to national Favor. The King availed himself of these Aids, to overwhelm the *Coalition* under the Ruins of the Fortress which they had so nearly constructed, and fondly deemed inassailable. Only Time was still wanting, in Order to enlighten, to awaken, and to animate the People at large; who not being as yet fully informed upon all the Points of Fox's *Bill*, required to be roused into Exertion, before the last Address should be made to them as Electors.

I well remember, not more than a Fortnight subsequent to the Period of which I am now speaking, Governor Johnstone rising in the House;—I believe, it happened

on the first Day of their Meeting after the Recess, the 12th of January;—insisted with great Force of Reasoning, on this Point. I knew Johnstone well, consulted, and indeed acted in some Degree of Concert with him, throughout the whole Progress of the *East India Bill*. He was not less attached to Lord North, than myself; but, that amiable Nobleman, as well as most accomplished Statesman, no longer held the Reins. Surrendering all his own Volitions, he seemed to adopt those of his more active, as well as ambitious Colleague:—for, assuredly, Lord North, if he had not been associated with Fox and Burke, would never, from the Suggestions of his own Judgment, or Inclination, or Opinion, have originated so strong and unconstitutional a Measure. He was carried along by the Torrent, and finally swept away in its Course. Johnstone, addressing the House of Commons, expatiated on the Rapacity, and other Features of Fox's *Bill*. “It becomes,” said he, “more
“detested from Day to Day, by the wisest
“and most impartial Men throughout the
“Nation, as the confiscating Principle on
“which it is founded; and the Artifice with
“which it has been carried on so far towards
“its Completion, are more known and un-

“ derstood by all Ranks. The Rejection
“ of so dangerous an Experiment on the
“ British Constitution, is regarded by every
“ thinking Individual, as one of the greatest
“ Triumphs over inordinate Ambition, re-
“ corded in our Annals. I do not assert
“ that these Sentiments have *as yet pervaded*
“ *the lower Orders of Society*. The Dangers
“ arising from political or legislative Institu-
“ tions, when veiled by the Arts and Elo-
“ quence of superior Statesmen, or of ac-
“ complished Orators, are not immediately
“ obvious to the wisest Capacity, and make
“ their Way slowly to vulgar Comprehen-
“ sion. Thank God, they are obviated for
“ the present Moment! But, whether there
“ exist Sense and Virtue sufficient in the
“ Country, to protect us from the Machina-
“ tions still carried on against the public
“ Freedom;—forms the great Cause of that
“ Struggle, on which we are assembled to
“ decide within these Walls.”

Pitt, with a Judgment beyond his Years,
instead of prematurely dissolving the House
of Commons, as a Man of meaner Talents,
or of less Resource, would have done; un-
dertook the Experiment of endeavouring
first to conciliate, or to convince, the Majo-

rity; thus allowing the popular Sentiment full Leisure to expand, and finally to overpower all Resistance: while he reserved for the proper Moment, whenever it should be thoroughly matured, his final Appeal to the Country, by a Dissolution. Such was the real State of Affairs in the last Days of December, 1783, at the Time when Pitt, contrary to all Precedent, and under apparent Difficulties the most insurmountable, ventured to accept the Reins of Government.

It forms an Object of the most natural and rational Curiosity, minutely to survey him at this critical Period of his Life. He was not then much more than Twenty-four Years and a Half old, and consequently had not attained the Age, at which many Individuals, under the testamentary Dispositions of their Parents, are still legally considered to be in a State of Tutelage or Minority. In the Formation of his Person he was tall and slender, but, without Elegance or Grace. His Countenance, taken as a whole, did not display either the fine Expression of Character, or the Intellect of Fox's Face, on every Feature of which, his Mind was more

or less forcibly depicted. It was not till Pitt's Eye lent Animation to his other Features, which were in themselves tame, that they lighted up, and became strongly intelligent. Fox, even when quiescent, could not be mistaken for an ordinary Man. In his Manners, Pitt, if not repulsive, was cold, stiff, and without Suavity or Amenity. He seemed never to invite Approach, or to encourage Acquaintance; though, when addressed, he could be polite, communicative, and occasionally gracious. Smiles were not natural to him, even when seated on the Treasury Bench; where, placed at the Summit of Power, young, surrounded by Followers, Admirers, and Flatterers, he maintained a more sullen Gravity than his Antagonist exhibited, who beheld around him only the Companions of his political Exile, Poverty, and Privations. From the Instant that Pitt entered the Door-way of the House of Commons, he advanced up the Floor with a quick and firm Step, his Head erect and thrown back, looking neither to the right nor to the left; nor favouring with a Nod or a Glance, any of the Individuals seated on either Side, among whom, many who possessed five Thousand Pounds

a Year, would have been gratified even by so slight a Mark of Attention. It was not thus that Lord North or Fox treated Parliament; nor from *Them*, would Parliament have so patiently endured it: but, Pitt seemed made to guide and to command, even more than to persuade or to convince, the Assembly that he addressed.

In the Flower of Youth when he was placed at the Head of Administration, he manifested none of the characteristic Virtues or Defects usually accompanying that Period of Life. Charles the Twelfth, King of Sweden, could not have exhibited more Coldness, Indifference, or Apathy towards Women; a Point of his Character, on which his Enemies dwelt with malignant, though impotent, Satisfaction: while his Friends laboured with equal Pertinacity to repel the Imputation. To him the Opposition applied, as had been done to his Father, the Description given of a Roman Youth:

“ Multa tulit, fecitque *Puer*; sudavit et aluit;
“ Abstinuit Venere.”——

In Order to justify him from such a sup-

posed Blank in his Formation, his Adherents whispered, that he was no more chaste than other Men, though more decorous in his Pleasures; and they asserted, that he made frequent Visits to a Female of distinguished Charms, who resided on the other Side of Westminster Bridge: but I never could learn from any of them, her Name or Abode. Pitt's apparent Insensibility towards the other Sex, and his Chastity, formed indeed, one of the Subjects on which the Minority exhausted their Wit, or rather, their Malevolence; as if it had been necessary that the First Minister of George the Third, should be, like the Chancellor of Charles the Second, "the greatest Libertine in his Dominions." I recollect, soon after Pitt became confirmed in Power, his detaining the House of Commons from the Business of the Day, during a short Time, while he went up to the House of Lords; and as Mrs. Siddons was to perform the Part of "Belvidera" that Evening, when Fox never failed, if possible, to attend, seated among the Musicians, in the Orchestra at Drury Lane, the Opposition impatiently expected Pitt's Return, in Order to propose an Ad-

jourment. As soon as the Door opened, and he made his Appearance, one of them, a Man of a classic Mind, exclaimed,

“ Jam redit et Virgo ! ”

If, however, the Minister viewed Women with Indifference, he was no Enemy to Wine, nor to the social Conviviality of the Table. His Constitution, in which a latent and hereditary Gout early displayed itself; which Disorder, heightened by political Distress, domestic and foreign, carried him off at Forty-seven; always demanded the Aid and Stimulus of the Grape. It was not therefore in him, so much a Gratification or an Indulgence, as a physical Want, though he unquestionably yielded to its Seductions, without making any great Effort at Resistance; resembling in this Respect, a distinguished Consular Character of Antiquity, relative to whose Virtue Horace says,

“ Narratur et Prisci Catonis,

“ Sæpe Mero caluisse Virtus.”

In the Autumn of 1784, he had indeed, nearly fallen a Victim to one of those festive Meetings, at which no severe Renunciations

were enjoined by the Host, or practised by the Guests. Returning, by Way of Frolic, very late at Night, on Horseback to Wimbledon, from Addiscombe, the Seat of Mr. Jenkinson, near Croydon, where the Party had dined; Lord Thurlow, who was then Chancellor, Pitt, and Dundas, found the Turnpike Gate situate between Tooting and Streatham, thrown open. Being elevated above their usual Prudence, and having no Servant near them, they passed through the Gate at a brisk Pace, without stopping to pay the Toll; regardless of the Remonstrances or Threats of the Keeper of the Turnpike, who running after them, and believing them to belong to some Highwaymen, who had recently committed Depredations on that Road, discharged the Contents of his Blunderbuss at their Backs. Happily he did no Injury. To this curious and narrow Escape of the first Minister, which furnished Matter of Pleasantry, though perhaps not of rejoicing, to the Opposition, Allusion is thus made in the "Rolliad:"

"How as he wandered darkling o'er the Plain,
"His Reason drown'd in Jenkinson's Champaign,
"A Rustic's Hand, but righteous Fate withstood,
"Had shed a Premier's, for a Robber's Blood.

Probably, no Men in high Office, since Charles the Second's Time, drank harder than Pitt's Companions; as, in Addition to the Individuals already named, we should not omit the Duke of Rutland and Lord Gower, neither of whom professed or practised Mortification. Once, and once only, the House of Commons witnessed a Deviation from strict Sobriety in the first Minister and the Treasurer of the Navy; who having come down after a Repast, not of a Pythagorean Description, found themselves unable to manage the Debate, or to reply to the Arguments of the Minority, with their accustomed Ability. No illiberal Notice or Advantage was however taken of this solitary Act of Indiscretion. The House broke up, and it sunk into Oblivion. Fox never subjected himself, either in, or out of Office, to similar Comments. He was always fresh; but, the Treasury Bench, under the *Coalition* Ministry, had not wanted some noble Advocates of the House of Howard, for the quick Circulation of the Bottle.

Pitt, at his coming into Office, was soon surrounded by a chosen Phalanx of young Men, who participated in his Triumph, pres-

sed near him on a Day of expected Debate, and constituted the Resource of his leisure Hours. Powis, when describing about this Time, "the Forces led by the Right Honorable Gentleman on the Treasury Bench," in his Speech of the 9th of March, 1784, only a few Days previous to the Dissolution of Parliament; said, "The first may be called his Body Guard, composed of light young Troops, who shoot their little Arrows with amazing Dexterity, against those who refuse to swear Allegiance to their Chief." High Birth, personal Devotion, and political Connexion, more than Talents, formed the ordinary Foundation of the Minister's Partiality for those distinguished Individuals; most of whom, with only one Exception, we have since seen elevated to the Peerage, or loaded with Preferments and sinecure Appointments. In general, the Duke de Montausier's Observation to Louis the Fourteenth, when speaking of Versailles, "*Vous avez beau faire, Sire, vous n'en ferez jamais qu'un Favori sans Mérite,*" might well apply to them. With Fox's Associates and Comrades, Hare, Fitzpatrick, and Sheridan, they could sustain no Competition for mental Endow-

ments. Lord Grenville, then Mr. William Grenville, must not however be included in this Remark. His near Connexion with the first Minister, by Consanguinity, when added to his distinguished Abilities, placed him on far higher Ground. As little will the Observation apply to Lord Mornington, since created Marquis Wellesley; to the present Earl of Harrowby, then Mr. Ryder; or to Wilberforce: all three, Men of undisputed Talents.

In Suavity of Temper, Magnanimity of Disposition, and Oblivion of Injury or Offence, Fox rose superior to Pitt. Even Dundas possessed far more Liberality of Character, as he manifested on many Occasions. I have heard Fox, after dealing out the severest Insinuations or Accusations against Lord North, when that Nobleman was at the Head of the Treasury, towards the End of the American War; on being convinced that he had exceeded the fair Limits of parliamentary Attack, or had deviated into personal Abuse, explain, retract, and apologize for his Violence or Indecorum. Mr. Pitt, though he rarely committed such a Breach of Propriety, and

was more measured in his Censure or Condemnation, seldom, if ever, made Concession. He even tried, at an early Period of his ministerial Career, to overbear Sheridan, by making sarcastic Allusion to the theatrical Employments or dramatic Avocations of that eminent Member, as forming a more appropriate Object of his Attention, than parliamentary Declamation and Pursuits:—Allusions, which, however classic the Language in which they were couched, might be justly deemed illiberal in their Nature. But, Sheridan, with admirable Presence of Mind, turned against him his own Weapons; leaving behind him the Impression of his Genius, drawn from the very Key on which Pitt had pressed, when he applied to the first Minister, the Denomination of the “Angry Boy,” with which *Ben Jonson* furnished him on the Instant.

In classic Knowledge and Acquirements of every Kind, as drawn from Greek and Roman Sources, Pitt and Fox might fairly dispute for Pre-eminence; but the latter left his Rival far behind, in all the Variety of elegant Information derived from modern History, Poetry, and foreign Languages.

We ought not, indeed, to be surprized at this Superiority, if we recollect that Fox was above ten Years older than Pitt, that he nourished a much stronger natural Attachment to polite Letters, and enjoyed infinitely more Leisure for its Indulgence. Pitt, as far as my Means of Information ever enabled me to form a Judgment, possessed comparatively small general Acquaintance with those Authors, which furnish the Libraries of Men of Taste and Science. How, indeed, we may ask, should he ever have attained it? Several Months before he compleated his twenty-second Year, he found himself, with a very slender Fortune, placed in the House of Commons, which Situation opened to his aspiring and ambitious Mind, the most brilliant Prospects of Elevation. From that Period, if we except the Prorogation of 1781;—for in 1782, he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1783, he visited the Continent;—what Portion of Time could he devote to literary Pursuits or Accomplishment? Near seven Years later than the Period of which I speak, in the Autumn of the Year 1790, when it was expected that a Rupture would have taken Place, between the

Crowns of Great Britain and Spain, respecting the Affair of Nootka Sound; being alone with him in Downing Street, and conversing on the Subject of the Spanish Possessions lying along the Shore of the Pacific Ocean, he owned to me that he not only never had read, but, he assured me, he never had heard of Commodore Byron's *Narrative of his Shipwreck in the "Wager,"* on the Coast of Patagonia:—A Book to be found in every Circulating Library. But, on the other Hand, the Rapidity and Facility with which he acquired, digested, and converted to Purposes of Utility, his Knowledge, was altogether wonderful. With the French Language he was grammatically conversant; but, at twenty-five he spoke it imperfectly, and wrote in it without Freedom or Facility, though he subsequently improved in these Particulars. I repeat it, as a Secretary of State for the foreign Department, he could have sustained no Competition with Fox, in all the Branches of solid, or of ornamental Attainment, that qualify for such a Situation.

It is not easy to decide relative to their respective Superiority in Eloquence. Fox's

Oratory was more impassioned: Pitt's could boast greater Correctness of Diction. The former exhibited, while speaking, all the Tribunitian Rage: the latter displayed the Consular Dignity. But, it must not be forgotten that the one commonly attacked, while the other generally defended; and it is more easy to impugn or to censure, than to justify Measures of State. Had they changed Positions in the House, the Character of their Speeches would doubtless have taken a Tinge, though it would not have been radically altered, by such a Variation in their political Destiny. From Fox's finest Specimens of Oratory, much, as it appeared to me, might generally have been taken away, without injuring the Effect, or maiming the Conclusion. To Pitt's Speeches nothing seemed wanting, yet was there no Redundancy. He seemed, as by Intuition, to hit the precise Point, where, having attained his Object, as far as Eloquence could effect it, he sat down. This distinctive and opposite Characteristic of the two Men, arose, partly at least, from an Opinion or Principle which Fox had adopted. He assumed, that one-third of his Audience was always either

absent, or at Dinner, or asleep; and he therefore usually made a short Resumption or Epitome of his Arguments, for the Benefit of this Part of the Members. So that, after speaking at great Length, and sometimes apparently summing up, as if about to conclude; whenever he saw a considerable Influx of Attendance, he began anew: regardless of the Impatience manifested on the Part of those, whose Attention was already exhausted by long Exertion. Pitt never condescended to avail himself of such a Practice; neither lengthening his Speeches, nor abbreviating them, from any Considerations except the Necessity of fully developing his Ideas. Indeed, so well was the relative Proportion of Time generally taken up by the two Speakers, on great Occasions, known to the old Members, that they calculated, whenever Fox was three Hours on his Legs, Pitt replied within two. In all the corporeal Part of Oratory, he observed likewise more Moderation and Measure than Fox; who on great Occasions, seemed, like the Pythian Priestess, “to labour with th’ inspiring God,” and to dissolve in Floods of Perspiration. The Minister, it is true,

became sometimes warmed with his Subject, and had occasionally recourse to his Handkerchief: but, rather in Order to take Breath, or to recall his Thoughts, by a momentary Pause, than from physical Agitation.

A vital Defect in Pitt's Composition as a Man, must be esteemed his Want of Economy: it was hereditary, constitutional, and remained insurmountable down to the Close of his Life. The great Earl of Chatham, his Father, had to contend with the same characteristic Deficiency; and never understood, as Lord Holland had done, the Art of accumulating a Fortune. But, the first Mr. Pitt, besides the lucrative Sinécure of the Privy Seal, which he held during several Years, enjoyed the Estate of Burton Pynsent in the County of Somersét, bequeathed to him by Sir William Pynsent; together with a Pension of three Thousand Pounds a Year, bestowed on him by the Crown. None of these Possessions, however, descended to his second Son, whose whole patrimonial Inheritance amounted, I believe, only to five Thousand Pounds; and it never received any ostensible Augmentation, ex-

cept a Legacy of three Thousand Pounds, bequeathed him in October, 1787, by the Duke of Rutland. We may therefore be enabled, with these Data, to form some Idea of the Elevation of Pitt's Mind, his Contempt of Money, and his Disregard of every selfish or interested Object; when, on Sir Edward Walpole's Decease, in January, 1784, he disdained to take the Clerkship of the Pells in the Exchequer, though, as the Head of that Department, he might have conferred it on himself; though Lord Thurlow pressed him not to reject such a fair Occasion of rendering himself independent; and though every Man in the Kingdom must have approved the Act, on an impartial Survey of his Situation. For, he might not have retained his official Employments, during a single Week. Perhaps it is to be regretted that he should have made such a Sacrifice of private Interest, to Glory: but it operated throughout his whole Life, and even beyond the Grave, by its Effect on Parliament and on the Nation. Antiquity cannot exhibit any more shining Instance of Disinterestedness, either drawn from Theban and Athenian Story, or from the Con-

sular Ages of Rome. Juvenal's Observation on human Nature,

"Quis enim Virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
"Præmia si tollas?"

did not seem to apply to Pitt. Possibly, however, on a deep Estimate, he found even his pecuniary Recompense in this noble Act of Renunciation. The House of Commons would hardly have bestowed the posthumous Marks of solid Admiration and Respect, which they voted in 1806, on any Minister who had enjoyed during two and twenty Years, a sinecure Place of three Thousand Pounds per Annum, in Addition to his official Emoluments.

The Salaries and other Advantages annexed to the Place of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, even though unaided by any private Fortune, yet undoubtedly with prudent Management, might have been found adequate to Pitt's annual Expenditure. But, when unsupported by Economy, they proved wholly insufficient for the Purpose. When he was appointed First Minister, his youngest Sis-

ter, Lady Harriet Pitt, resided with him, and superintended his Establishment in Downing Street. She possessed, in Addition to other eminent intellectual Endowments, that Quality which her Father and Brother wanted ; and so long as she personally controlled his domestic Affairs, I have been assured that they were restrained within very reasonable Limits. Unfortunately for him, in September, 1785, within two Years after he came into Power, Lady Harriet gave her Hand to Mr. Elliot, who became Lord Elliot on his Father's Demise ; and subsequent to her Marriage, Pitt's pecuniary Concerns fell into the utmost Disorder. Debts accumulated ; and it was commonly asserted, that the Collectors of the Taxes found more Difficulty in levying them from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, than from almost any other Inhabitant of Westminster. Even Tradesmen's Bills, particularly those of Coachmakers, were said to be frequently paid, not in Money, but, by ordering new Articles, and thus augmenting the Pressure of the Evil itself.

It was not till 1792, on the Earl of Guildford's Decease, (better known to us as Lord

North,) that Mr. Dundas having learnt the Intelligence, and knowing his Friend's Disinterestedness, hurried to St. James's, went into the Closet, and asked of His Majesty, the Place of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, for Pitt; which Office the King immediately conferred on him, though it had been previously intended by the Sovereign, as I know, for the late Duke of Dorset. Such was the Superiority of the first Minister's Mind, to every Object of personal Emolument or Acquisition, that he disdained to ask any individual Reward, even from the Prince whom he had so long and so efficaciously served. For my Knowledge of this curious and interesting Fact, I am indebted to the Right Honorable William Dundas, Nephew to the late Lord Melville, whose Authority on such a Point, I presume, is superior to all Contradiction. The Salary, which in Mr. Pitt's Person was rendered nominally Three Thousand, five hundred Pounds a Year, might have formed a very handsome Addition to his official Income: but, the necessary Deductions of many Kinds, to be made from that Sum; the Expences which he incurred in altering or embellishing Walmer Castle; and more than both these Sources

of Expenditure, his Facility or Liberality in granting small Pensions to invalided or aged Artificers, of various Descriptions, belonging to the Cinque Ports;—so many combined Causes reduced the real Receipt below half its ostensible Amount. Yet when he went out of Office in 1801, loaded with Debts, he possessed no other independent Means of Subsistence. It is indeed true, that as early as 1790, he had been elected Master of the Trinity House; but I have always considered that Appointment, though highly honorable, as unproductive of any pecuniary Emolument. When we reflect on the Circumstances here enumerated, we may regret, but we cannot wonder, that after holding the Reins of Government, almost his whole Life; and conferring so many Dignities, as well as Offices, during a Period, taken altogether, of near nineteen Years; he should ultimately die not only poor, but, oppressed under a Burthen of Debt. Yet must we distinguish between a Sort of virtuous, or at least, venial Poverty, if I may so express myself, caused by Want of Economy, in a Man who devoted his Exertions to the public Service; and Fox's similar Wants, produced by a Rage for Play, which not

only reduced him from Affluence, to a State of Dereliction, but, finally compelled him to accept an eleemosynary Contribution from his political and personal Friends, in Order to furnish him with the Means of Subsistence. It is unnecessary to contrast the two Positions or Characters, which undoubtedly excite in our Minds very opposite Sensations, and awaken widely different Degrees of moral Censure or Disapprobation.

Pitt's great Superiority over his Antagonist, and his consequent ministerial Success, flowed principally from two Causes. The first was, his admirable Judgment. That Intelligence restrained his parliamentary Exertions during the American War, and induced him, while heaping Accusations on the Ministers, to spare the King. I know that he received a Hint, soon after he began to speak in the House of Commons, warning him to avoid that Rock on which Fox had split, and to be cautious how he mentioned, or alluded with Severity, to the Royal Name. He did not despise the Advice. The same superior Intelligence impelled him, when Lord North was driven from Power, to refuse Office under an Administration, which, he foresaw, from its component Materials,

could only be of short Duration. It dictated to him, to take the Chancellorship of the Exchequer under Lord Shelburne; but, it equally suggested to him, the Impracticability of retaining the Situation of First Minister, when pressed by his Majesty in March, 1783, to assume that high Office, after the Earl of Shelburne's Resignation. In renouncing a Situation so flattering to his Pride and his Ambition, though it lay completely within his Grasp, he exhibited, when not twenty-four, the deepest and calmest Discernment: for, if he had yielded to his own Inclinations and the Wishes of the Sovereign, it seems certain that he could not have maintained himself in Power against Fox and Lord North; who had not then committed any other Act calculated to excite the public Condemnation, except the mere Approximation of their respective Parliamentary Adherents, followed by their own political Union.

Pitt, with consummate Judgment, waited till the *Coalition* had brought forward the "East India Bill," and could no longer recede, in Order to profit of their Indiscretion. He accepted in December, the two Employments, which, nine Months ear-

lier, he had wisely declined; exhibiting, on both Occasions, equal Ability: but he never associated Lord Shelburne to his Power, nor allowed him a Place in the Cabinet. His whole Conduct, while struggling against Fox's Majority in the House of Commons, during successive Months, which I witnessed; formed the Triumph of paramount Capacity over imprudent Ambition and rapacious Precipitation. If we were to pursue the Comparison lower down in Pitt's Life, we should trace the same Effects resulting from similar Causes, during the critical Conflict which took Place between him and Fox, in the Winter of 1788; when the latter, instead of advising the Heir Apparent to accept the Regency under any Conditions, however apparently severe, on which Parliament might think proper to confer it during the uncertain Nature of the King's Malady, laid Claim to it for His Royal Highness, as a Matter of Right. The Minister instantly perceived, and fastened, like an Eagle, on his Adversary's Error; which, by producing Delay, happily allowed Time for his Majesty's Recovery, and of Course perpetuated the Duration of Pitt's Power. But, this Part

of his ministerial Conduct, belongs to another Period of the "Memoirs of my own Time."

The second Point that gave him an Ascendant over Fox, arose from the Correctness of his Deportment, and Regularity of his private Life. This Circumstance, which, under Charles the Second, would have counted for little in the Scale, operated with decisive Effect in his Favour, under a Prince such as George the Third. Nor did it produce less beneficial Results among the People at large. Some internal Guarantee, drawn from moral Character, high Integrity, and indisputable Rectitude of Intention, seemed indeed necessary, in order to justify to the Nation, the Choice of the Sovereign, when entrusting to a young Man, destitute of Property, the Finances and Concerns of an Empire, reduced by a long and disastrous War, to a State of great Depression. Pitt possessed in Fact no other Stake to deposit, as a Security for his good Conduct, unless we take into our Calculation, his possible Reversion of the Earldom of Chatham. He had likewise to contend, like Epaminondas in Antiquity, with another Deficiency. During

the whole Course of the eighteenth Century, and I believe I may say, since the Accession of Elizabeth, he is the only English First Minister who lived and died in a State of Celibacy. He was not therefore attached to the Commonwealth by those endearing Ties, which blend the Statesman with the Husband and the Father; thus giving a Species of compound Pledge for exemplary Conduct, to the Country. Henry Pelham, who presided over the Councils of Great Britain during ten Years, under George the Second, was, it is true, like Pitt, only a younger Son of a noble House; but, his Brother, the Duke of Newcastle, might be justly considered as one of the greatest Subjects in Fortune, as well as in Rank, to be found within the Kingdom. Mr. Pelham, who married a Daughter of the Duke of Rutland, had likewise by her a numerous Family, and possessed in his own Person, considerable landed Property.

Even Fox, though he remained long unmarried, yet finally entered into that State; and he aspired to have done it much earlier in Life, if his Efforts for the Purpose had not proved unsuccessful. During the early

Part of Hastings's Trial, in 1787, he raised his Eyes and Hopes to the Duke of Newcastle's Box in Westminster Hall, where usually sat Miss Pulteney, afterwards created by Pitt, Countess of Bath in her own Right; then justly esteemed one of the richest Heiresses in the Kingdom. After exhibiting his great Powers of Oratory, as a public Man, in the Manager's Box below, he sometimes ascended in his private Capacity, to try the Effect of his Eloquence under the Character of a Lover. All his Friends aided a Cause, which, by rendering their Chief independent in his Fortune, would have healed the pecuniary Wounds inflicted by his early Indiscretion. General Fitzpatrick, with friendly Solitude, usually kept a Place for him, near the Lady; and for some Time, the Courtship assumed so auspicious an Appearance, that I remember, *Hare*, when speculating on the probable Issue of the Marriage, said, with admirable Humour, that "they would inevitably be Duns, with "Black Manes and Tails:" alluding to the Lady's fair Complexion and Red Hair, contrasted with Fox's dark Hue. The Affair nevertheless terminated; from whatever Cause, without Success. Pitt, though, at different

Periods of his Life, he distinguished certain Ladies, some of whom I could name, by Marks of great Predilection; and in one Instance seemed even to meditate Marriage; yet never persisted in the Attempt: but, his Name, Descent, Abilities, and private Character, surmounted every Impediment to his Elevation. Fox could no more have been placed at the Head of the Treasury, than Dean Swift could have been made Archbishop of Canterbury; or than Lord Bolingbroke, under Queen Anne, or the Duke of Wharton, under George the First, could have filled the Office of First Minister. He wanted, like them, an essential Quality. I will not say, high moral Character;—for, I believe, his Honour, Integrity, and Probity, were above all Impeachment or Reproach; but, correct moral Deportment. Of this Deficiency he was, himself, sensible, and was said to have once expressed his Conviction of it, in laconic, but, forcible Terms. I resume the Progress of Events,

While Pitt unquestionably anticipated the probable Necessity for his ultimately recurring to the Measure of calling together a new House of Commons; he by no Means

disdained to avail himself of all the Means and Modes that could be suggested, for diminishing, and if possible, annihilating the Majority, to which Fox owed his actual Consequence. Every Effort was exerted by himself, and by his Friends, in order to accomplish that Point. The Recess, limited to little more than a Fortnight, allowed him only a very short Space for Exertion; and the Numbers which had hitherto supported the *Coalition*, during the Progress of the "East India Bill" through the House, in every Stage, generally amounted to double, or almost double the Votes on the opposite Side. Two hundred and seventeen Members had voted for its Commitment; a great Proportion in an Assembly, then composed only of five hundred and fifty-eight Persons. To reduce such a Superiority, first to something approaching an Equality, and finally to a Minority, might well seem a hopeless Undertaking; even admitting all the Venality, Want of Principle, or Tergiversation, with which that Assembly has been so often reproached. Much more Success was, however, expected from Applications addressed to the Part of the *Coalition* which might be considered as holding to Lord North; than

from the Adherents of the Rockingham Party, or among the personal Supporters and Friends of Fox. Many of Lord North's political Connexions, who had in Fact voted with him on the India Bill, under a Conviction of the Measure itself having obtained the Consent of the Crown; were naturally disposed to withdraw their Support, if not to transfer their Services, on the Discovery of their Mistake. There existed only three Ways by which Fox's Majority might be reduced. In Consequence of the Attendance of new Members, who had not hitherto taken any Part. By the future Non-attendance of those, who had supported the *Coalition* up to the present Time; and lastly, by Desertion from the Enemy's Ranks, over to those of the new Administration. The latter Votes, as counting double, of Course became most sought after and valued.

▲ Separation had, indeed, already taken Place among Lord North's immediate personal Followers. Of the two former Secretaries of the Treasury, Sir Grey Cooper continued to support him invariably: but, Robinson, conceiving himself absolved from any Obligation to accompany his antient Prin-

cipal, through all the Consequences of his new political Alliances, quitted altogether that Party. No Man in the House of Commons, as I have had Occasion to remark, knew so much of its original Composition; the Means by which every Individual attained his Seat; and in many Instances, how far, and through what Channels, he might prove accessible. Though Mr. Pitt made the fifth First Minister, whom that Parliament had beheld in the short Space of little more than twenty-one Months; yet the individual Members composing the lower House, had undergone only a very trifling Variation since the general Election. Recourse was therefore had to Robinson, under the present delicate and arduous Circumstances of public Affairs, in Order to obtain his active Exertions for Government. He complied with the Application, and unquestionably rendered very essential Service. I have always considered the *Earldom* of Abergavenny, as the Remuneration given by the Crown, for that Assistance, though I by no means assert it as a Fact. Robinson's only Daughter and Child had been married some Years before, to the Honorable Henry Neville, eldest Son of Lord

Abergavenny ; who was placed at the Head of the List of *Earls*, created by Pitt, on the 11th of May, 1784, not five Months after the Facts took Place, under our Discussion.

While I am engaged on the Subject of the House of Commons, and of the Influence or Corruption by which it has been always managed, particularly during the last, and a Part of the present Reign ; I shall relate some curious Particulars, which cannot perhaps be introduced with more Propriety than in this Place. We may see in the “ Memoirs of Prince Eugene of Savoy,” (which Work, though composed under its present Form, by the late Prince de Ligne, with whom I was well acquainted at Vienna, is founded on original Papers or Documents ;) what Influence he attributes to the “ Presents of “ Champagne and Burgundy,” made by Marshal Tallard, then a Prisoner of War in England, to “ Right Honorable Members “ of Parliament.” Nay, the Prince asserts positively, that in the same Year, 1711, when he came over in Person to London, with the avowed Object of retaining, if possible, Queen Anne and her Ministers, in the Grand Alliance against France ; he had Recourse, him-

self, to Corruption. "*Je fis des Présens,*" says he, "*car, on peut acheter beaucoup en Angleterre.*" If such constituted the ordinary Practice under the last Princess of the Stuart Line, at a Time that Parliaments were not septennial, but, only *triennial*; we may be quite assured, that they did not become more virtuous after the Accession of the reigning Family, when the House of Commons was elected for seven Years.

Proofs of the Venality practised by Sir Robert Walpole, during the whole Course of his long Administration, it seems unnecessary to produce, as that Minister did not disclaim or resent the Imputation. Nor did his political Adversaries disdain, whatever Professions of public Virtue they might make, to have Recourse to the same unworthy Expedients, in order to effect his Removal. We have the Authority of a Member of their own Body, for the Fact. "*Don Carlos,*" (Frederick, Prince of Wales,) says Mr. Glover in his "*Memoirs,*" recently published, "told me, that it cost him Twelve Thousand Pounds in Corruption, particularly among the Tories, to carry the Westminster and Chippenham Elections in

“ 1742, and other Points, which compelled
“ Lord Orford, at that Time Sir Robert
“ Walpole, to quit the House of Commons.”
It is difficult to adduce more satisfactory
and unimpeachable Proof of any Fact, as
Glover was a Man of strict Veracity. Nei-
ther was Mr. Pelham, who, after a short
Interval succeeded Sir Robert, and held
his Situation near eleven Years ; though he
may be justly esteemed one of the most up-
right Statesmen who presided in the Coun-
cils of George the Second ; less liable to the
Accusation of corrupting Parliament, than
was his Predecessor.

A Friend of mine, a Man of Rank and
high Character, whom I do not name, be-
cause, being still alive, I consider myself not
at Liberty to divulge it ; but, whose Name
would at once stamp the Veracity and Au-
thenticity of whatever he relates ; has fre-
quently assured me, that about the Year
1767, he was personally acquainted with
Roberts, who had been Secretary of the
Treasury under Mr. Pelham ; but, who was
then old, infirm, and near his End. He lies
buried in Westminster Abbey, in *Poet's Cor-
ner*, where his Epitaph describes him, as

“the most faithful Secretary of the Right Honorable Henry Pelham.” This Gentleman conversing with *Roberts*, upon the Events of those Times when he held a Place under Administration, and particularly on the Manner in which the House of Commons was then managed; *Roberts* avowed without Reserve, that while he remained at the Treasury, there were a Number of Members who regularly received from him their Payment or Stipend, at the End of every Session, in Bank Notes. The Sums, which varied according to the Merits, Ability, and Attendance of the respective Individuals, amounted usually from Five Hundred Pounds, to Eight Hundred Pounds, *per Annum*. “This Largess I distributed,” added *Roberts*, “in the Court of Requests, “on the Day of the Prorogation of Parliament. I took my Stand there; and as “the Gentlemen passed me, in going to, or “returning from the House, I conveyed the “Money, in a Squeeze of the Hand. What “ever Person received the Ministerial Bounty “in the Manner thus related, I entered his “Name in a Book, which was preserved in “the deepest Secrecy; it being never inspected by any human Being, except the

“ King and Mr. Pelham. On the Decease of
“ that Minister in 1754, his Brother, the Duke
“ of Newcastle, Mr. Fox, afterwards Lord
“ Holland, and others of the Cabinet, who
“ succeeded to Power; anxious to obtain an
“ accurate Knowledge of the *private* State of
“ the House of Commons, and particularly
“ to ascertain the Names of all the Indi-
“ viduals who received Money during Mr.
“ Pelham’s Life, applied to me for Informa-
“ tion. They further demanded of me to
“ surrender the Book, in which, as they
“ knew, I was accustomed to enter the above
“ Particulars. Conceiving a Compliance to
“ be dishonourable, I peremptorily refused
“ to deliver it up, except by the King’s ex-
“ press Command, and to His Majesty in
“ Person. In Consequence of my Refusal,
“ they acquainted the King with the Circum-
“ stance, who sent for me to St. James’s,
“ where I was introduced into the Closet;
“ more than one of the above-mentioned Mi-
“ nisters being present. George the Second
“ ordered me to return him the Book in
“ question, with which Injunction I imme-
“ diately complied. At the same Time
“ taking the Poker in his Hand, he put it
“ into the Fire, made it red hot, and then,

“ while we stood round him, he thrust the
“ Book into the Flames, where it was imme-
“ diately reduced to Ashes. He considered
“ it in Fact, as too sacred and confidential a
“ Register, to be thus transferred over to
“ the new Ministers, and as having become
“ extinct with the Administration of Mr.
“ Pelham.”

It is unquestionable that the Duke of Newcastle, though he failed in getting Possession of his Brother's secret Information, in consequence of *Roberts's* Firmness; yet pursued the same Mode of Management, on becoming, himself, first Lord of the Treasury. Under Lord Bute's Government, when, from a Variety of Causes, a violent Opposition in Parliament arose, which required the whole Power of Ministry to stem, similar Practices were carried to a greater Length. John Ross Mackay, who had been private Secretary to the Earl of Bute, and afterwards, during seventeen Years, was Treasurer of the Ordnance; a Man with whom I was personally acquainted; frequently avowed the Fact. He lived to a very advanced Age, sat in several Parliaments, and only died, I believe, in 1796. A Gentleman of high

professional Rank, and of unimpeached Veracity, who is still alive, told me, that dining at the late Earl of Besborough's, in Cavendish Square, in the Year 1790, where only four Persons were present, including himself; Ross Mackay, who was one of the Number, gave them the most ample Information upon this Subject. Lord Besborough having called after Dinner, for a Bottle of excellent Champagne, a Wine to which Mackay was partial; and the Conversation accidentally turning on the Means of governing the House of Commons, Mackay said that "Money formed, after all, the only effectual and certain Method." "The Peace of 1763," continued he, "was carried through and approved by a pecuniary Distribution. Nothing else could have surmounted the Difficulty. I was, myself, the Channel through which the Money passed. With my own Hand I secured above one Hundred and Twenty Votes, on that most important Question to Ministers. Eighty Thousand Pounds were set apart for the Purpose. Forty Members of the House of Commons received from me, a Thousand Pounds each. To eighty others, I paid five Hundred Pounds apiece." Mackay afterwards con-

firmed more than once, this Fact, to the Gentleman above mentioned, who related it to me. He added that Lord Besborough appeared, himself, so sensible of the Imprudence, as well as Impropriety of the Avowal made by Mackay, at his Table; that his Lordship sent to him, and to the fourth Person who had been present on the Occasion, (the late Reverend Mr. Dutens,) next Morning, to entreat of them, on no Account to divulge it during Mackay's Life. What Attestation so strong of the Truth of this Anecdote can be produced, as the Testimony of the late Bishop of Llandaff! He expressly informs us, in the "Anecdotes" of his Life, just published, that the Earl of Shelburne, then first Minister, assured him on the 17th of February, 1783, that "he," Lord Shelburne, "well knew, above sixty Thousand Pounds had been expended, (among the Members of the House of Commons,) in procuring an Approbation of the Peace of 1763."

Wilkes was however perfectly well instructed on the Subject, and made no Secret of his Information, even at the Time when the Treaty of Fontainebleau was a recent

Transaction. In his memorable Letter addressed from "Paris, 22d October, 1764," to the Electors of Aylesbury, he says, "I will not compliment the present profligate Majority in the House of Commons, so far as to say, they were so well informed, that they knew the exact Truth of *every* Assertion in the 'North Briton,' No. 45. *One* Particular, however, came within their Knowledge; the Means by which it is hinted that the *entire Approbation of Parliament*, even of the *Preliminary Articles* of the late inglorious Peace, was obtained; and the previous Step to the obtaining that *entire Approbation*, the large Debt contracted on the *Civil List*. They knew this Assertion was extremely *true*, and I am as ready to own that it was extremely *scandalous*." It is impossible to convey a Charge of such a Nature, in less equivocal or ambiguous Language.

Relative to the three successive Administrations, after Lord Bute's Secession from Power; namely, that of George Grenville, of the Marquis of Rockingham, and of the Duke of Grafton, which comprized the whole Period of Time between April, 1763,

and January, 1770, I can state nothing from my own personal Knowledge. Bradshaw conducted that Department, as is well known, under the Duke of Grafton. The same System certainly continued to be acted on during the Period of the American War, when Robinson, and under him, Brummell, were its Agents. I remember, Mr. Whitbread, with whom I was well acquainted, one of the most upright, honest, and benevolent Men who ever sate in Parliament, at that time Member for Bedford; rising in his Place, on the 19th of March, 1782, stated to the House, that during Lord North's Administration, many Millions had been lost to the Nation, by exorbitant Contracts, and wasteful Bargains. "Some of the former," added he, "are so lucrative, that even though Thousands of Pounds might be given for them, yet they would produce a large Profit. I do not charge the noble Lord at the Head of the Treasury, with ever receiving one Penny of such Money. I believe he never did: but, *the Individuals who transacted those Matters at the Treasury, are well known.* Nor is it any Secret, to whom the Contracts in Question are given, by Favor or Pre-

“ference. That all the Business of the
“Treasury, Admiralty, Navy, Victualling,
“and Ordnance, is conducted on the same
“corrupt Principles, is a Fact beyond Dis-
“pute.” Lord North was not present when
Mr. Whitbread spoke; but, no Denial of
these Allegations was made or attempted
by any of his Friends.

Burke on the following Day;—a Day memorable in the Reign of George the Third, as on it Lord North laid down his Power;—observed in the metaphorical and elevated Style familiar to him, “We have witnessed,
“Mr. Speaker, for numerous Years, the System of Corruption advancing. We have
“beheld it with Melancholy and Depression.
“For, from the prodigious Power of that Corruption, from the Towers and Battlements
“with which it was fortified, we nourished
“no Hopes of being able to overthrow it.
“We remained therefore, from our Dejection, inactive. Despair rendered us submissive. This Torpor gave to the Enemy
“additional Force. It even gave them an
“Appearance of Stability, by which delusive Advantage, weak Men were seduced
“to join them, and wicked Men became

“confirmed in their Adherence.” Such was the Language held at that Time, within the Walls of the House of Commons. I incline nevertheless strongly to doubt whether, towards the Termination of Lord North’s Ministry, these Practices subsisted in all their Force; by which I mean to say, that I question whether any individual Member of the House, was paid for his Vote and Support in Bank Notes; as it would appear had been done under Walpole, Pelham, and most, if not all their Successors, down to that Time. More Refinement had insensibly been introduced into the Distribution of pecuniary Gratifications; which were conveyed in oblique Shapes, such as Lottery Tickets, Scrip, Jobs, Contracts, and other Beneficial Forms, by which the Majority was kept together, for near seven Years, in Defiance of a most unfortunate, if not an ill conducted War.

Sawbridge, who without the Learning or the Talents of Algernon Sydney, possessed as republican a Spirit as that illustrious and unfortunate Individual, put a Case hypothetically, in the Course of one of his Speeches, which the House perfectly understood. I

was present on the Occasion, which happened in March, 1781, under Lord North's Administration, during the Discussion of the Loan negotiated in that Session. Sawbridge's Words were nearly these: "Perhaps, Mr. Speaker, it may chance at some future Period,—for, the Age is too virtuous to admit its Possibility in these Days;—that a Member of Parliament may retire behind the Speaker's Chair, with the first Lord of the Treasury, and engage to support him on all Questions, provided he (the Member,) shall be allowed to subscribe for ten Thousand Pounds of the present Loan." Lord North, when Sawbridge sat down, instantly rose, in Order to answer and to deny, or to refute other Passages of his Speech: but, to the Allusion above cited, he made no Reply, nor attempted to rebutt such an Imputation; probably because he knew that Sawbridge, if contradicted, could name his Man. Neither was he called to Order for it. Indeed, Fox, Burke, George Byng, and others of the Opposition of that Period, made no Scruple of advancing similar Charges, without Circumlocution or Delicacy. Sir George Savile, on the 12th of June, in the same Year, 1781, exceeded in Severity, or rather in Asperity,

anything that I witnessed ; and he did it with perfect Impunity. After branding the Loan recently negotiated, with the Epithets of venal, corrupt, and disgraceful, he added, that “ such a Measure constituted an Act of “ *Plunder and Robbery* committed on the “ Nation, in Order to *bribe with the Spoil* “ those Members of the House, who persisted in a *Conspiracy* for the Destruction “ of their Country. The Minister might “ just as well say in plain Terms to his Followers, I know that you disapprove this “ ruinous and accursed War with America : “ but, as it is indispensable to prosecute it, “ for the Preservation of my Employment, “ provided you consent to raise thirteen “ Millions on your Constituents, I will allow “ you to share one Million of the Money “ among yourselves, who are my *Accomplices*.” Not a Word was said from the Treasury Bench, nor any Indignation expressed at so unqualified an Accusation.

Fox observed no Measures, when declaiming against the asserted Corruption of Parliament. “ The Minister,” exclaimed he, “ well aware, that he must die with the present “ War, has encountered Shame and embraced it, in Order to produce its Con-

“tinuance. His Supporters well know
“that *their Payment, like his own Bread,*
“depends on its Prosecution. The War
“begets Extraordinaries, which beget Loans,
“which beget Douceurs, which beget Mem-
“bers of this House.” Such was the Lan-
guage of Opposition in 1781. I heard Fox
pronounce those Words above cited. In
thus endeavouring to vilify and degrade the
first Minister, he only looked to the imme-
diate Object of overturning the Administra-
tion; unconscious within how short a Time
he should be induced to form a *Coalition*
with the very Nobleman, whom he had de-
nounced for successive Years, as the De-
stroyer of his native Country. In February,
1782, Burke, pleading the Cause of Hohen,
the Jew, who had suffered in his Property,
at the Capture of St. Eustatius; Jenkinson,
Secretary at War, demanded, “what was
“the specific Object that he had in View?
“Did he mean to move for a Grant of public
“Money to the Petitioner?” If so, he en-
treated Burke to reflect on the Consequences
to which such a Precedent would lead.
“Oh!” answered he, “Ministers may easily
“make Compensation to Mr. Hohen, with-
“out putting their Hand in the public Purse.

*" They may give him a Slice of the Loan ;
" for, those Profits are not esteemed public
" Money ; or, they may place him en Croupe
" of some overgrown Contractor."*

One of the most humiliating Scenes that I ever witnessed, as affecting Lord North in his ministerial Capacity, and which occasioned him the greatest Embarrassment, took Place just at the Time when Burke made these severe Animadversions. A Contract of a most improvident Nature, had been concluded with a Member of the House, an East India Director, one of the two Representatives for a Somersetshire Borough, by the Board of Ordnance. The Article furnished, was Saltpetre, for which a very exorbitant Price was given to the Contractor. George Byng, aided by Hussey, and by Colonel Barré, with most meritorious and indefatigable Pertinacity, traced, developed, and exposed the whole Transaction. Lord Townsend, then Master General of the Ordnance, disavowed any Knowledge whatever of it, by the Mouth of his Friend Courtenay, and reprobated the Business. Under these distressing Circumstances, the first Minister had no other Refuge or Means of Extrica-

tion, than to protest his total Ignorance of the Contract, the Terms of which he admitted to be enormous; and he therefore proposed to omit the Article of Saltpetre, amounting to near £150,000, if the House would vote the remaining Articles of the Ordnance Estimates. Fox launched out on the Occasion, into severe, as well as indignant Comments, on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Conduct. No Reply was made by Lord North, and on the Question being put for receiving the Report, Ministers carried it only by a Majority of *Thirty*; the respective Numbers being 122, and 92.

Lord North, when First Minister, was supposed to command full one hundred and seventy Members at his absolute Devotion, who were prepared to vote with him upon every Question: nor would his Head, indeed, have been secure, from 1777 down to 1782, unless he could have counted upon such a steady and numerous Support, at a Time when every Mouth teemed with Misfortunes or Defeats. Of this great Body, only a comparatively small Portion had however continued to adhere to him, after he joined with Fox; and many more had

quitted him on the first Introduction of the "India Bill," or subsequent to its Rejection. Still, even in the last Days of December, 1783, when dismissed from Employment, he remained the nominal Head of a considerable Party; upon many Individuals composing which, it was natural to suppose that an Impression might be made, by Representations addressed to their Principles, their Passions, or their Interests. Nor can Mr. Pitt, standing as he did, in the critical, as well as hazardous Predicament, of having accepted the first Offices of Government, unsupported in one House of Parliament; be blamed for availing himself of every fair or honorable Means, to diminish the Majority possessed by his Adversaries. I am at the same Time persuaded, from the Elevation of his Mind, and the Purity of his Principles, that he was incapable of authorizing, no less than Robinson would have disdained to practise, any other Methods of procuring Adherents, than such as the British Constitution either recognizes, or which are in Fact inseparable from its practical Existence.

Among the Persons of Eminence to whom Mr. Pitt had Recourse for Support, at this

delicate Crisis of his Ministerial Life, when every Parliamentary Aid which could sustain him against the *Coalition*, was anxiously sought after, the late Lord Sackville attracted his Attention. That Nobleman had hitherto taken no decided Part in the Debates, during the Progress of the "East India Bill;" though he voted against it personally in both the Divisions which took Place on the 15th and 17th of December, in the House of Peers. He had, indeed, early considered it to be a Measure which would excite great Fermentation throughout the Country, as well as Opposition on the Part of the Crown, when its political Consequences came to be well appreciated and understood. He even repeatedly predicted, that it would probably overturn the Ministry of Lord North and Fox. Impressed with these Sentiments, he exhorted his Nephew, the Duke of Dorset, who arrived in London from Paris, soon after the Session opened; to be cautious how he engaged himself too far in supporting it, till he had ascertained and sounded the Ground. The Duke profited of the Advice. Lord Sackville, besides his own Vote, and his Brother-in-law Lord Milton's Proxy, of which, from his Influence over that Noble:

man's Mind, he might be said to dispose, in the same House of Parliament; brought in gratuitously two Members at East Grinstead;—for, he had a Mind too noble ever to *sell* either of the Seats;—thus commanding or influencing four Votes, in addition to his own personal Weight and Connexions.

I cannot pass over Lord Milton, who was afterwards created Earl of Dorchester, without saying a few Words respecting himself and his Family. He descended collaterally, if not directly, from Damer, the famous Miser, whom Swift has commemorated; and Lord Milton had attained a very advanced Period of Life, at the Time of which I now speak. Neither his Person, nor his Manners, were attractive; but, though difficult of Access, reserved, and repulsive in his Exterior, he possessed solid intellectual Parts; and no Man of his high Rank in the Kingdom, entertained with greater Magnificence. In his Youth, the Duel which he fought with Earl Paulet, had rendered him scarcely less distinguished, than Lord Byron became in consequence of his fatal Encounter with Mr. Chaworth; and neither the one, nor the other, remained exempt from Reflections on

the Circumstances supposed to have respectively taken place. If Lord Byron was tried by his Peers, Lord Milton underwent scarcely a milder Inquest, from the Prejudices imbibed respecting the Transaction. At his Seat of Milton Abbey in Dorsetshire, where he maintained a gloomy and sequestered Splendor, analogous to his Character and Habits, he had made immense landed Purchases; which exhausting his pecuniary Means, extensive as they were, reduced him to a Species of temporary Distress, and realized Horace's

"Magnas inter Opes inops."

His Palace in Town, contiguous to Hyde Park, from the secluded Life which Lord Milton led, and the very limited Number of Persons who ever entered within its Gates, obtained the Denomination of "Milton's Paradise lost." His very Appearance conveyed indeed an Idea of "dry and bald Antiquity," Misanthropy, and Inaccessibility; but, when he occasionally unbent himself in select Society, his Conversation was interesting, often witty, and sometimes cheerful. Of his three Sons, I had the Honor to know only the second, who succeeded

his Father as Earl of Dorchester, and was one of the most engaging, lively, but, eccentric Noblemen of his Time. It is difficult to convey an Idea of the Species of Humour that characterized him, which was truly original, and irresistibly comic: nor did he commonly impose any severe Restraints on its Indulgence. Lady Melbourne passing him, one very cold Day, in her Carriage, as he stood conversing with *Partington*, an eminent Solicitor, at the Corner of Lower Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, she bowed to him. Unwilling to take off his own Hat in the severe State of the Atmosphere, he instantly made free with that of *Partington*; who having his Back towards Lady Melbourne, was not a little surprized at finding himself thus made the involuntary Instrument of Mr. Damer's good Breeding. Having however performed this Act of Civility by Proxy, he coolly replaced *Partington's* Hat on the Head of its Owner, with many Apologies for the Freedom. He survived his Father only a few Years, and dying unmarried, a Martyr to the Gout, the Title of Earl of Dorchester expired in his Person. I resume the Thread of Public Affairs.

During the Christmas Recess, after the Adjournment of the two Houses, Lord Sackville went down to his Seat at Drayton. Mr. Pitt having applied to a Member of the House of Peers, requesting his Exertions to procure Lord Sackville's personal Attendance and Support in that Assembly, at a Moment of such Difficulty; he mentioned my Name to the Minister, as a Person capable, from the Friendship with which Lord Sackville honored me, of facilitating his Wishes on the Subject. The Nobleman in Question subsequently called on me, at a very late Hour of the Night, of the 29th of December, after I was in Bed, and acquainted me with the above-mentioned Circumstances. Impelled by the Wish of serving Mr. Pitt, and supporting His Majesty's Government, I waited on him, next Morning, at his Brother Lord Chatham's House in Berkeley Square, where he then resided; and at his Desire undertook the Service. But, I candidly informed him at the same Time, that, from my Knowledge of Lord Sackville's political Sentiments, and for the obvious Reasons which must render Lord Howe, as well as the Marquis of Carmarthen, who were both Members of the new

Administration, personally distasteful to him; I doubted his Compliance, unless the Solicitations were sustained from various Quarters. And I exhorted him, not only to write, himself, to Lord Sackville, but, to procure similar Applications from his three personal Friends in the Cabinet; the Chancellor, the Lord President, and Lord Sydney. Mr. Pitt readily adopted the Suggestion. I then assured him that I would set off on the following Day; it being previously settled, that the Messenger, who was to be charged with the ministerial Letters for Drayton, should not pass me on the Road, but allow me to arrive before him at my Destination.

On the ensuing Morning, being the 31st of December, I left London very early, in order to have Time for conversing with the Duke of Dorset, in my Way to Lord Sackville. The Duke was then on a Visit at Lord Salisbury's, at Hatfield. I acquainted him with the Object of my Journey, in the Success of which he co-operated with all his Exertions. It was past Ten at Night when I reached Drayton, in most inclement Weather. Lord Sackville, whom I found engaged at Chess with his youngest Daughter,

expressed some Surprise at my first Entrance into the Apartment. But, his natural Penetration soon led him to conceive, that my Visit at such a Season, must have originated in a deeper Motive than Friendship or Amusement. As soon as we were alone, I therefore told him the Cause of my unexpected Arrival, and related every Circumstance that had taken Place, except the Advice which I had ventured to offer Mr. Pitt, respecting Applications from his Friends in the Cabinet. Next Day, the Messenger brought the Dispatches; and Lord Sackville, after perusing them, returned the Answer which I had foreseen; namely, that “though he neither desired, nor would accept any Office under Ministry, nor ask any Favour from the new Administration, either for himself, or for his Connexions; yet, that his Principles, and the dutiful Submission that he felt towards His Majesty, would impel him to give every Support to the Government, in the present arduous Crisis of public Affairs.” He punctually performed this Promise, evincing himself a steady Friend to the Ministry, during the whole future Progress of the

eventful Contest then carrying on in Parliament.

[1784.—1st—10th January.] It was not, however, by individual Applications of any Kind, nor even by private Exertions and Assistance, however successful they might be, nor even by the personal Interference of the Sovereign himself, that Mr. Pitt could have been maintained in Office. The Public, and the Public only, enabled him to defeat the powerful Phalanx drawn up against him. During the two first Weeks of December, while the Fate of the "India Bill" remained still doubtful, the Committee of Proprietors, which sat unintermittingly in Leadenhall Street, sounded the Alarm from one End of the Kingdom, to the other Extremity. A Member of that Committee, who took an active Part in their Deliberations, assured me, that in the circular Letters which they addressed to almost every Town, or Corporate Body throughout Great Britain; they contented themselves with saying in few Words, "Our Property and Charter are forcibly invaded: Look to your own!" This laconic Invocation bore some Analogy to one of the Pu-

ritanical Appeals made under Charles the First, to the English People, when, in the Language of Scripture, their Leaders exclaimed, "To your Tents, O, Israel!" A Copy of Fox's *Bill*, enclosed, which served as the best Commentary on the Text, soon produced a corresponding and general Effect. Ridicule and Satire joined their Aid to expose the *Coalition* to Laughter or Contempt. Two Prints in particular, both conceived with admirable Humour, were circulated throughout the Metropolis. In one, Fox, under the Character of a "Political Sampson," appeared carrying away on his Shoulders the India House, that he had pulled down; out of the Windows of which Edifice, the terrified Directors were endeavouring to effect their Escape. The other Print, denominated "The triumphal Entry of Carlo Khan into Delhi," displayed the Secretary of State, habited in the Costume of a Mogul Emperor, seated on an Elephant, whose Countenance bore a most striking Resemblance to Lord North; and preceded by Burke, as his Trumpeter. It is difficult to conceive the moral Operation, and wide Diffusion, of these Caricatures, through every Part of the Country.

Towards the Commencement of the new Year, the First Minister exhibited, (perhaps not without profound Design,) a Proof of Power, which his Predecessors had never been able to display during their Administration; by elevating his Relation and active Supporter, Mr. Thomas Pitt, to the Peerage. Burke, only a few Days afterwards, alluding to the Circumstance, in the Course of one of his Speeches, observed, “ A Person “ who was very recently a Member of this “ Assembly, has just been,—not transported,—but, translated, to a Place of Rest; “ the House of Peers; which Place, Lord “ Chesterfield used sometimes to denominate “ the Hospital of Incurables, or of Invalids. “ —The Person whom I mean, is Lord Camelford, who, like Elijah, has been rapt up into “ the Heaven of Rest. To whom, he has “ left his *Cloak*, it is not my Business to “ enquire.” Then having read several Passages from a Pamphlet, attributed to Mr. Thomas Pitt, in which Production, the constitutional Right of the House of Commons to advise the Sovereign, was strenuously maintained, and eloquently enforced; Burke added, “ Perhaps, this Pamphlet may be “ considered as his *Cloak*, which he has left

“to his Disciple on the Treasury Bench.” Pitt, who was present, did not condescend to notice such an Attack.

Before the Month of January elapsed, two other Individuals, namely, Mr. Carteret, Brother of Lord Weymouth; and Mr. Eliot, Member for Cornwall whose eldest Son married Lady Harriet Pitt, in the Course of the subsequent Year; were raised by him to the same Dignity. He probably meant to shew his Adherents, as well as his Opponents, in the House of Commons, the Facility with which he disposed of the Honours of the Crown, withheld by the Sovereign from the *Coalition*; and consequently, the Rewards which might attend their early repairing to the royal Standard. In order to counteract this Display of Ministerial Favor, and with a View to keep their Forces together, his Antagonists were said to have promised a long List of contingent British Peerages, exceeding thirty in Number, to their principal Friends in the lower House. The Names of these Gentlemen were in general Circulation; and the greater Part of them have since, at different Periods subsequent to the

French Revolution, received from Pitt the Boon, which they had failed to obtain from the Coalition Administration.

[12th January.] Whatever favorable Effect, the Peerage conferred by the Minister on Mr. Thomas Pitt, might produce within the Walls of the House of Commons; an Act which he performed soon afterwards, operated far more beneficially for him without Doors, on the Minds of the Public. Sir Edward Walpole's Death having vacated the lucrative Post of Clerk of the Pells in the Exchequer; Pitt, instead of taking it for himself, or conferring it on his Brother Lord Chatham, as might not only have seemed natural and venial, but, as he was urged to do by his political Friends; immediately gave it to Colonel Barré, in order to extinguish the ample Pension enjoyed by that Gentleman ever since Lord Shelburne's Accession to Power. So unusual a Proof of Superiority to pecuniary Temptation, exhibited by a Man destitute of patrimonial Fortune; even though it might have originated in deep Policy, more than in Disinterestedness, as his Enemies asserted or insinu-

ated; yet attracted just Admiration, and extorted general Applause. Fox, nevertheless, while he admitted the abstract Merit of the Action itself, did not reprobate with less Severity, the Principles on which Pitt had acquired Possession of Office. Nor did he display with less Ostentation, on the Day when the House of Commons met, after its short Adjournment, the unlimited Command that he exercised over the Majority of that Assembly. Of this Empire he gave the most convincing Proof, by not only, in Parliamentary Language, taking Possession of the House when it re-assembled; but, by precluding the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in Subversion of all Usage, from being heard, though charged with a Message from the King, till Fox had submitted and carried five Resolutions, in a Committee on the State of the Nation. Three of these, he moved, himself. The other two, he delegated to Lord Surrey, who was said to have been selected from among the numerous Candidates for Parliamentary Service, in Consequence of a classic Recommendation. It having been agitated at the Meeting of the Opposition, held on the preceding Evening, at Burlington House,

what Individual to choose for bringing forward two of the Resolutions next Day, in the House of Commons ; and Opinions being divided on the Subject, Sheridan, when asked for his Sentiment, exclaimed with *Richard*,

“ Saddle black *Surrey* for the Field to-morrow !”

Throughout the whole Debate which took Place on that Occasion, Fox appeared as the Arbiter of the Scene, propelling, restraining, and directing the Machine, according to his Volition ; while the Minister, sustained only by the vast Powers of his Mind, and a Consciousness of possessing equally the royal and the popular Favor, struggled vainly against the Current. He was borne away, together with his Followers, by its Violence ; after making an eloquent and masterly, but, ineffectual Appeal to the Candor of his Audience. Erskine, who performed a conspicuous Part during the Discussion of that memorable Night, was placed, if I may so express myself, by Fox, in the front Ranks. In the Course of a long Speech, he drew a Parallel, or rather, a Contrast, between the late Secretary of State, and the actual First Minister. The latter, he depicted as devoured by an

insatiable Thirst of Power, and throwing into Confusion the whole Frame of Government, in Order to attain the highest Offices of State, without passing through any subordinate Employments. "How different," continued he, "has been the Progress of my "Honorable Friend! *He* was not hatched "at once into a Minister, by the Heat of his "own Ambition. *He* passed through the "inferior Gradations, and matured his Talents, in long, as well as laborious Opposition; arriving by the natural Progress of "his powerful Mind, to a Superiority of "political Wisdom, universally felt and acknowledged." The Parody which he drew from the fourth Scene of the third Act of "Hamlet," intended to display Pitt under two opposite Points of View; first, as a Patriot, when formerly united with Fox, and next, as the Creature of Secret Influence; did not however appear to produce on his Hearers, the same strong Impression, which the Citations from "Julius Cæsar," had done, when applied to Fox, by Scott, and by Arden. Powis, though he continued to speak of the late *East India Bill*, in Terms of the strongest Abhorrence, as a Measure, which, if it had not been frustrated, would

have inflicted a mortal Blow on our constitutional Frame; yet expressed his ardent Wish, that the State might not lose the Benefit of Lord John Cavendish's Integrity, and of Fox's resplendent Abilities. "It would immortalize," he said, "the Individual who could effect a Reconciliation, and produce a Union, between the late Secretary, and the present Chancellor of the Exchequer." Widely different was the Language held by Mr. Pulteney, and by Governor Johnstone. Those two Brothers, acting to a certain Degree in Concert, extended an invaluable Assistance to the new Administration. The elder, Mr. Pulteney, who represented Shrewsbury; under a very forbidding Exterior, and a still more neglected, or almost thread-bare Dress, which he usually wore, concealed strong Sense, a masculine Understanding, and very independant, as well as upright Principles of Action. Nor did he want a Species of Eloquence, though it could boast of no Elegance or Ornament. Representing in Consequence of his Marriage, the Name and Family of *Pulteney*, so eminent under the Reign of George the Second; inhabiting the Mansion of the celebrated Earl of Bath, in Piccadilly; and Heir

matrimonial to that distinguished Nobleman's vast landed Property ; Pulteney was always heard with Attention.

Fox, in a Speech of the most inflammatory and criminating Description, having rung the Changes upon Secret Influence, concealed Advisers, and all the Apparatus of the *Back Stairs*, by which he accused his Rival of having unconstitutionally ascended to Power; and having strenuously exhorted the House to adopt Measures without Delay, for preventing the Possibility of their own Dissolution, Pulteney rose. " The present Moment," observed he, " calls on every Man to come forward, and I do not hesitate to assert, that far from approving Resolutions calculated to prolong the Duration of this Assembly ; I think, whenever it is suspected that the House of Commons does not speak the Sentiments of the People, it ought to be dissolved. That Suspicion is strongly entertained at this Time, because the House has passed a *Bill* which is reprobated by the Nation. I will even go further, and maintain, that the more violent are the Resolutions into which they enter,

“ with a View to prevent their Dissolution,
“ the more ought their political Extinction to
“ be accelerated. Much Obloquy and Cla-
“ mour have been excited relative to Secret
“ Influence. But, even if it existed, I see
“ no injurious Consequences to be appre-
“ hended from its Operation :—for, as every
“ Measure advised, can only be carried into
“ Effect by efficient Ministers, they must be
“ devoid of all Honour or Spirit, if they
“ would execute Measures not their own.
“ On the other Hand, he must be a dastardly
“ Minister, who, finding Parliament engaged
“ in prosecuting Measures odious to the
“ Country, would hesitate to advise their
“ Dissolution. And does any Man doubt,
“ that a House of Commons may speak a
“ Language opposed to the Sentiments of the
“ Country? The Support which the noble
“ Lord in the blue Ribband, found within
“ these Walls, during successive Years, when
“ prosecuting the American War, may con-
“ vince the most incredulous Person. I do
“ not scruple to declare, that the Adminis-
“ tration just dismissed from Power, formed
“ a Blockade round the sacred Person of the
“ Sovereign, and endeavoured to despoil

“ him of every Attribute of Majesty, except
“ its external Decorations, or its empty Pa-
“ geantry.”

Those Opinions which Pulteney always maintained with stern Severity, but, in temperate Language, Governor Johnstone enforced with the Violence of Manner and Tone, characteristic of his natural Disposition. “ Instead,” exclaimed he, “ of admitting that the Horrors and Rapacity of the
“ East India Bill, produced its Rejection in
“ the upper House, the late Secretary tells
“ us that it proceeded entirely from Secret
“ Influence. But, what Proof of the pretended Fact does he adduce? None. It
“ is merely the Catch-word of a Party, invented to delude the credulous Vulgar,
“ and to render the Sovereign, or his Servants, unpopular. The same Cry was
“ raised against the noble Lord in the blue
“ Ribband; but he now protests that no
“ such Influence ever existed, to his Knowledge. Indeed, he must either confess
“ that such was the Case, or subscribe to his
“ own Meanness in submitting to it. What
“ stronger Attestation can be given that it
“ is chimerical, since the noble Lord, though

“ now acting in perfect Concert with his late
“ Colleague, and willing to avail himself by
“ every Expedient, of the Clamour of the
“ Hour ; yet, when called on to speak from
“ his own personal Experience while First
“ Minister, declares the Accusation to be
“ totally groundless?—The present Proceeding appears to me to have been open
“ and avowed, not concealed. A noble
“ Earl, convinced of the fatal Consequences
“ which must have resulted from the East
“ India Bill, both to the Sovereign and to
“ his fellow Subjects; is said to have demanded an Audience, in which he fully
“ explained them to His Majesty. The
“ Nobleman in Question having related the
“ Purport of this Interview, and its Operation on the royal Mind, to various of his
“ Friends, a Resistance was set on Foot to
“ oppose the Passage of the Measure itself
“ through the upper House. A Change of
“ Administration naturally and properly followed. What ! are we to deny the King
“ the Privilege of conversing with his own
“ Subjects and Nobles ! If so, we deprive
“ him of the Power of dismissing his Ministers.”—“ We have doubtless a Right to
“ demand that the Government shall be

“ entrusted to Men of Ability and Integrity.
“ But, if these Qualities are found in the
“ present Cabinet, and if the Measures which
“ they propose, appear to be wise, it is the
“ Height of Faction to refuse our Support
“ to such Men.”

Stimulated by the personal Attacks made upon him, not only by Fox, but, from various other Quarters of the House; all accusing him of the Attainment of Power through Secret Influence, and demanding an unequivocal Explanation of his Intentions relative to the Dissolution of Parliament; the Chancellor of the Exchequer now came forward in his own Person. Having denied in the most positive Terms, the Allegations advanced to prove his unconstitutional Attainment of Office, “ I declare,” continued he, “ that I
“ came up no *Back Stairs*. When my Sovereign was pleased to send for me, in
“ Order to know whether I would accept of
“ Employment, I was compelled to go to
“ the royal Closet: but I know of no Secret
“ Influence. My own Integrity forms my
“ Protection against such a concealed Agent;
“ and whenever I discover it, the House may

“ rest assured, I will not remain one Hour
“ in the Cabinet! *I will neither have the*
“ *Meanness to act upon Advice given by*
“ *Others, nor the Hypocrisy to pretend, when*
“ *the Measures of an Administration in which*
“ *I occupy a Place, are censured, that they*
“ *were not of my advising. If any former*
“ *Ministers are hurt by these Charges, to*
“ *them be the Sting!* Little did I conceive
“ that I should ever be accused within
“ these Walls, as the Abettor and the Tool
“ of Secret Influence! The Nature and the
“ Singularity of the Imputation, only render
“ it the more contemptible. This is the sole
“ Reply that I shall ever deign to make.
“ The Probity and Rectitude of my private,
“ as well as of my public Principles, will
“ ever constitute my Sources of Action. I
“ never will be responsible for Measures not
“ my own, nor condescend to become the
“ Instrument of any secret Advisers what-
“ ever.—With Respect to the Questions put
“ to me on the Subject of a Dissolution of
“ Parliament, it does not become me to
“ comment on the Expressions composing
“ the gracious Answer of the Sovereign, de-
“ livered by him from the Throne. Neither

“ will I compromise the royal Prerogative,
“ nor bargain it away in the House of Com-
“ mons!”

This Speech, the Dignity, Elevation, and Firmness of which, it is not easy to appreciate fully, when we reflect that it was pronounced by a Minister, in an Assembly of which his Adversaries possessed a decided Majority; called up Lord North. I think I never saw him so much agitated, except once, when Barré was the Cause. He could not indeed remain silent under Imputations so severe and pointed, as were those levelled at him by Pitt. With more Indignation than was natural to him, he repelled the Charges of *Meanness* and *Hypocrisy*:—Accusations, which, he said, were the most gross and scandalous that he had ever heard within the Walls of that House. Sheridan retorted on the Chancellor of the Exchequer with still greater Asperity; applying to his ministerial Conduct, the very Epithets which Pitt had used, when addressing Lord North. Rigby even indirectly accused the Minister, of putting a Fallacy into the sacred Mouth of Majesty, with Intention to deceive that Assembly. Alluding to the late Answer

from the Throne, to the Address of the Commons, he observed that "a Newgate Solicitor, he was persuaded, would not have descended to so low and scandalous a Mode of Deception, if any Intention existed of dissolving Parliament, after the Assurances to the contrary given by the King." One of Lord Surrey's Motions, calculated to stigmatize His Majesty personally, as having permitted "his sacred Name to be constitutionally used, in order to affect the Deliberations of Parliament;" was voted by a very considerable Majority, in a crowded House, at seven o'Clock in the Morning. Yet, even amidst so conspicuous a Triumph, Fox might find Subject for just Apprehension, in his already diminished Numbers. Instead of dividing, as he had done before the Recess, nearly *two to one* upon almost every Question, he carried the first Division against Administration, upon "going into the Committee on the Order of the Day," by only *thirty-nine*; though four hundred and twenty-five Members voted on the Occasion. Lord Surrey's Resolution passed, it is true, by *fifty-four*; but, as only three hundred and thirty-eight Persons voted on that Question, it appeared evident that

the Augmentation on the Side of Opposition, arose from the better Discipline and closer Attendance enforced among their Followers, than was observed by the Adherents of Government. When Fox, elated by his Advantage, attempted, four Days afterwards, on the 16th of January, to make the House declare, that "the Continuance of Ministers in Office, was contrary to the Principles of the Constitution," he found his Majority declined to *twenty-one*, on a Division where three hundred and eighty-nine Members voted. His Parliamentary Ascendancy therefore, however apparently imposing, palpably rested on a most precarious and decaying Foundation.

[16th January.] Some Features of this Discussion, which took Place on the State of the Nation, were of a Nature to make a deep Impression on the Memory. I have already mentioned, that during the Existence of the *Coalition* Administration, Intentions had unquestionably been nourished, of transporting Lord North to the upper House of Parliament:—Intentions, the Accomplishment of which was frustrated by the King. Powis, during the Debate in Question, hav-

ing expressed his anxious Wish, that a Union might take Place between Pitt and Fox; after passing very high Encomiums on both, as Men of transcendent Abilities, fitted for the Government of a great Country, added; “ I do not, however, approve of the Coalition between the late Secretary of State, and the noble Lord in the blue Ribband. The Ambition of the former, is indeed laudable in itself; but, I believe he is not delicate about the Means of its Gratification. I perceive likewise plainly, the Difficulty of inducing the two Right Honourable Gentlemen to act together:—for, the noble Lord must not be disgraced. He shines indeed no longer, except with a borrowed Light. He is a Man of whom I cannot say, *laudandus*; but, *ornandus*, *tollendus*. I would that such could be the Case.” Lord North, in the Course of his Speech, having alluded with great good Humour, to Powis’s Observations, however painful, on his shining with a borrowed Lustre; observed, that a classic Expression had been applied to him, though with the Difference of a Monosyllable;—*NON laudandus*;—*ornandus*,—*tollendus*. “ I hope,” continued he, “ *tollendus* is not to be un-

“ derstood in the worst Sense. It is not
“ meant to *kill* me. It is only intended
“ that I should be *ornandus* ;—in vulgar
“ English, *kicked up Stairs*. But, Sir, I
“ feel no Inclination to be kicked up Stairs.
“ I should be very unwilling to stand in the
“ Way of any political Agreement which
“ might be beneficial to the Country ; yet I
“ will not go up to the House of Peers.
“ I will remain in this Assembly, for the
“ Purpose of defending my Honour and
“ Character. If, in the Course of Nature,
“ such an Event should indeed take Place,
“ I shall esteem it a very great Distinction.
“ I mean, provided the present Ministers
“ will suffer this House to retain its appro-
“ priate Privileges in the British Frame of
“ Constitution. If they do not suffer any
“ Constitution at all to survive, then I will
“ repair to that House, as to a Place of Rest,
“ a Place of Sleep, where I may repose
“ during the Rest of my Life. But, neither
“ my Honour nor my Character will allow
“ me at present to accept of a Peerage. Its
“ Acceptance would place me in Agrippina’s
“ Situation, when she says, ‘ *Je vois croître*
“ *les Honneurs, et tomber mon Crédit.*’ ”
So much Suavity, Taste, and Wit, did that

most amiable, as well as accomplished Nobleman, usually mix up with his Addresses to Parliament!

He had not many Imitators;—for, never, I believe, were Debates conducted with more Asperity and personal Recrimination, than during the Period of Pitt's and Fox's Contest for Power. Accusations the most futile and unbecoming in their Nature, were preferred on both Sides, with the View of rendering each other odious to the Nation. Sir Richard Hill, Member for Shropshire, animadverted with some Severity, on the frequent Attendance, and Marks of warm Interest exhibited by the Prince of Wales, while present in the lower House. “What-
“ever Censure may be lavished on *secret*
“Influence,” observed he, “*corrupt* Influ-
“ence must necessarily be pernicious. The
“former may produce possible Benefit. The
“latter never can, under any Circumstances.
“What might be the Consequence, if it
“should happen that *an Heir apparent at-*
“*tended the Debates of this Assembly, and*
“*endeavoured by his Looks or Gestures, to*
“*countenance a Faction, and to influence*
“*individual Votes?* Might not such Con-

“ duct be esteemed a Species of corrupt Influence?” A very general Cry of *Order!* accompanied with Testimonies of Disapprobation, arising from various Parts of the House; Lord Melbourne, who then occupied the Place of a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales, declared that the Words spoken, amounted to a direct Attack on His Royal Highness, and therefore he should demand Proof of the alledged Fact. Sir Richard replied, that “ the Prince “ to whom he alluded, was only a supposititious Personage.” Lord Delaval, on whom the *Coalition* Ministers had conferred an Irish Peerage, only a few Months earlier; and who was raised to the British Peerage by Pitt, about two Years later;—a Nobleman with whom I had the Honour of being much acquainted, and whom I may have Occasion to mention again in some Part of these Memoirs;—rose to remark, that “ the “ Prince of Wales acted most wisely in “ attending Debates, for the Purpose of imbibing just Ideas of that Constitution, “ which must probably at some future Day “ be placed under his Protection, as its “ natural Guardian.” But, Hill, not at all disconcerted, calmly answered, that “ for

“such Purposes as those just mentioned,
“he could have no Objection to His Royal
“Highness’s Appearance in that House.”
Here the Conversation terminated.

The Prince, though from Deference to his Father’s Wishes, signified to him, he had absented himself on the Day when “the East India Bill” was finally rejected in the upper House, yet did not the less retain and avow his Predilection for its Authors. His Presence in the House of Commons, among the Peers, where he took his Place under the Gallery, might therefore be considered as indirectly encouraging to Fox and the *Coalition*. Frederic, Prince of Wales, his Grandfather, had however, as is well known, given the same Marks of Partiality to the Minority which drove Sir Robert Walpole from Power, in the Beginning of 1741, without exciting any Comment or Disapprobation. Pulteney, then at the Head of Opposition, even alluded in one of his Speeches, to his Consciousness of the august Personage before whom he spoke. Sir Richard Hill, whom I very particularly knew, was one of the most upright, disinterested, and honest Men who ever sat in Parliament. Andrew

Marvel was not more incorrupt; but, his religious Cast of Character laid him open to the Shafts of Ridicule. His Manners were quaint and puritanical; his Address, shy and embarrassed. He possessed however a most benevolent Disposition, together with a great Estate, which enabled him to gratify his generous and philanthropic Feelings. Sir Richard, though he attained to old Age, being, I believe, seventy-five at the Time of his Decease, remained always unmarried. In the Simplicity, Singularity, and Eccentricities of his Character, as well as Deportment, he always reminded me of Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley. The "Rolliad," which treats him with great Severity, describes him as

"Friend of King George, but, of King Jesus more."

In the same Manner, the Earl of Dartmouth, while a Member of Lord North's Cabinet, being likewise known to entertain very deep Sentiments of Religion, had obtained from the Opposition of that Time, the Nick-name of "the Psalm Singer."

The indecorous Personality of Debate

that distinguished the lower House, during this extraordinary Crisis of Affairs, produced Scenes apparently unbecoming the Assembly where they originated, and such as we would vainly expect to find in more tranquil Periods of our Parliamentary History. General Ross, a Man of very eccentric Manners, rising in his Place, accused a Lord of the Bedchamber, the Earl of Galloway, with endeavouring to influence his Vote, by Allusions or direct Intimations of the royal Displeasure at his supporting the *Coalition*. Lord Galloway's Brother, the Honorable Keith Stewart, read a written Denial of the Assertion: but, the General persisted in maintaining the Charge. He had served with great Gallantry and Distinction, under General Elliott, during the memorable Siege of Gibraltar; where he commanded the Troops employed on the 27th of November, 1781, in the *Sally* made from the Garrison with such Success, when the Lines and Batteries of the Besiegers, were burned or destroyed. This extraordinary Attack on Lord Galloway, was commonly denominated "General Ross's *Sally*." Lampoons, a Weapon, in the Management of which, the Opposition unquestionably ex-

celled their Opponents, were circulated with great Assiduity and Effect. In one of them, Stewart was thus apostrophized :

“ Captain Keith, Captain Keith,
Keep your Tongue in your Teeth,
Lest you Bedchamber Secrets betray !
And if you want more,
Why, my bold Commodore,
You may borrow of Lord Galloway.”

Keith Stewart, who was a Captain in the Royal Navy, had incurred, as a professional Man, some Censure or Reflections, perhaps very unjustly, during the War with Holland, for having allowed a homeward bound Dutch Ship of War to slip through the Downs, and reach the Texel, while he was said to have been on Shore at Deal. His Brother, Lord Galloway, having, like Lord Sandwich, the Inside of his Mouth most defectively furnished for Purposes of Mastication, it was well known, used a complete Set of artificial Teeth. Sir Richard Hill, accustomed almost always to draw his Allusions or Authorities from Holy Writ, endeavoured to prove that even Benefits might result from secret Influence, by adducing the Instances of Haman and of Mordecai. “ The honest

"Israelite," he observed, "repaired privately to Court, and averted the Danger which threatened the People of God, from Haman's Ambition; who being driven from the Cabinet, was finally suspended on a Gibbet." I thought however, at the Time when Sir Richard pronounced this Speech, that Pitt was not perfectly pleased with the Comparison made between himself and Mordecai. Even Dundas, who might have been esteemed incapable of descending to such Modes of Attack; yet, when referring to Lee's very imprudent Assertion, made, I think, on the 12th. of January, that "a Charter was only a Scroll of Parchment, with a Piece of Wax dangling to it;" observed, that it had been asked with equal Reason, "What was the great Harm of hanging an Attorney General? An hanged Attorney General, was only a Carcase dangling at the End of a Rope." Sheridan, however, retorted on him with equal Ability and Severity, for this curious Metaphor. Lord North did not scruple to accuse the Ministers with canvassing for Votes, from one Extremity of the Kingdom, to the other:—an Imputation repeated in still stronger Language by General Conway, who

denominated their Agents, *Rat Catchers*; but, which Charge was repelled by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as wholly destitute of Proof. On the other Hand, Rigby complained that Robinson, in the Anticipation of a speedy Dissolution of Parliament, had made Use of Ministerial Influence, to affect the future Election of a Member for the Borough of Harwich; though he did not think proper to ground any specific Motion on his Complaint.

Fox, alluding to the Reflections which had been thrown out by Sir Richard Hill, on the Prince of Wales, for attending Questions under Agitation in that House, exclaimed with Warmth, "God forbid, that "Royal Personage should not participate "in its political Concerns! Where can he "so well imbibe a Knowledge of the Principles of our Constitution, as within these "Walls? How can he better illustrate the "Excellence of his Character, than by thus "blending personal Respect for the King "his Father, with Attachment to his Country?" Not deterred however by such Observations, from animadverting on other Circumstances connected with His Royal High-

ness's personal Appearance under the Gallery; the new Treasurer of the Navy remarked hypothetically, that "if the great Personage in Question, not content with merely listening to the Debates, should on any Occasion testify by his Behaviour or Gesticulations, while in the House, a Predilection or Partiality for any Set of Men; such Marks of his Preference would be unbecoming, and might operate as a Means of Influence." No Answer was given by any Member of the Opposition, to the supposed Case thus stated: but Lord North, in the Course of the Evening, after expatiating on the eminent Virtues of the Heir Apparent, expressed a becoming Admiration at "his attending the House of Commons, where he might imbibe the true Spirit of our Constitution, and become acquainted with the Nature of this limited Government, rather than listening to Flatterers." The Comments on this delicate Subject, proceeded no further, and were not renewed during the Remainder of the Parliament.

[23d January.] The City of London led the Way to the rest of the Kingdom, by

going up at this Juncture to the Foot of the Throne, with an Address, thanking his Majesty for the very Interference, which the House of Commons had pronounced to be subversive of the Constitution. They retorted at the same Time, upon the Authors of Fox's India Bill, the Charge of "raising
" a Power unknown to this free Govern-
" ment, and highly inimical to its Safety." Encouraged by such unequivocal Demonstrations of the Affection of the Metropolis, and of the corresponding Defection in the Opposition Ranks, Pitt had already framed and brought forward another East India Bill, the second Reading of which took Place at this Time. All the Faculties of the two great Leaders, who had originated those respective Measures, were exerted in its Attack and its Defence. Fox, after contrasting its pretended Inefficiency and Fluctuation of System, with the Vigour which characterized his own Measure for the Government of our Asiatic Possessions, concluded by protesting, " If the present *Bill*
" is adopted, the Company may continue to
" transmit Orders to their Servants. They
" may fill their Dispatches, with Morals and
" with Ethics; but, all their Commands will be

“perused with Indifference, and treated with Disrespect. *If adopted, I do not hesitate to assert that India is lost, irrecoverably lost for ever.*” This most unfortunate Prediction was not however meant so much for Futurity, as calculated to operate on the Apprehensions of his Audience. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, with more Attention to the Patience of the House, briefly pointed out the dangerous, as well as unconstitutional Nature of the Power, proposed by Fox to be vested in Lord Fitzwilliam, “independant of the Crown; dependant on the good Graces of the Ministers who could command a Majority in Parliament.” The Division took Place before Midnight, when Pitt’s *Bill* was rejected only by *eight* Votes, out of four hundred and thirty-six Persons who divided. Such, indeed, was Fox’s Consciousness of these Victories finally terminating in Defeat, that no sooner had he thrown out the Bill of the Minister, than he moved for Leave to introduce his own Bill a second Time; but, so changed and modified in its leading Principles, as to be scarcely recognizable for the same Measure. He unquestionably perceived when too late, the Error into which his own ill regulated

Ambition, propelled by Burke's ardent and theoretical Spirit, had precipitated the Party. In Order therefore to conciliate the Favor of the House, and of the Country, to the Measure, he now offered to abandon almost all its obnoxious Provisions; particularly, the Patronage, which had excited so much Obloquy and Clamor. There remained only two fundamental Principles or Features, which he declared himself unable to retract; namely, the Permanency of the System for the Government of India, under Parliamentary, not Royal Authority; and secondly, that the supreme Control itself should be established, not on the Ganges, but here at Home. The Proposition, however, appeared to be no longer suited to the Exigency. It is impossible not to accuse Fox of betraying Want of Judgment, throughout every Part of the Transactions which led to his ministerial Downfall. A cautious, or a temperate Statesman, would not have furnished the Sovereign to whom he was personally unacceptable, with the Means of precipitating him from the Elevation which he had attained with so much Labor. Had the *Coalition* made a judicious and moderate Use of their Power, the King, however he might have

lamented his Situation, could not have liberated himself from their Yoke. They enabled him, by their Errors, to emancipate himself. When we reflect that another Coalition, formed by Lords Grenville and Grey, uninstructed by Experience, renewed and exhibited in 1807, nearly the same Error, followed by the same Results, it affords no common Matter of Astonishment.

After the Rejection of the Minister's Bill for the Government of India, Fox, sustained by Members in various Parts of the House, endeavoured to force from Pitt an explicit Declaration of his Intentions relative to a Dissolution of Parliament: but, neither Menaces nor Expostulations could prevail over his Determination to observe a profound Silence on that Point. He resembled a Rock, against which the Waves dashed and spent their Force. To General Conway, who accused him of attaining Power by unconstitutional Means, and existing by Corruption, he replied with great Dignity; but, refused to answer any Interrogatories from Individuals. "I will be the sole Judge of my own Honour," said he, "and though I have not been long accus-

“tomed to the strong Language used within these Walls, yet, neither unsupported Slander, nor intemperate Threats, shall discompose my Temper.” Vainly Fox exhausted his Indignation on the Minister’s sulky Silence, and Want of Decency towards the House.” With as little Effect, Lord Surrey pledged himself, if Pitt persisted in denying the Information demanded, to bring forward a Motion of a compulsory, or a criminating Nature. Lord North and Sheridan, each, assailed him with every Weapon of Debate: while Martin, notwithstanding his avowed Detestation of the *Coalition*, declared that on this Occasion he could not support Administration; but, would abandon them, if the threatened Resolution should be brought forward. Pitt remained immovable. It was a Moment of Crisis; the Majority irritated, clamorous, and ripe to have come to a Vote of a violent Nature. But, Fox, who well knew that any such Act would only furnish a momentary Triumph, followed by the Destruction of his Parliamentary Machinery, interposed with apparent Moderation. “Perhaps,” observed he, “the Minister conceives that because he has insulted this House to such

“ a Point, he may proceed still further. I “ am nevertheless averse to take any intemperate Advantage of his Conduct.” He, therefore, proposed an Adjournment of a few Hours, ’till twelve o’Clock of the same Day, (Saturday, the 24th of January;) expressing his Hope that a full Attendance would then take place. His Expectations were realized :—for I have rarely witnessed a greater Number of Members than assembled on the Occasion. Powis instantly rising, with Marks of strong and visible Emotion, reiterated Fox’s Question of the preceding Night; but, Pitt, though he no longer declined making any Reply, yet was with Difficulty induced to guarantee the Existence of the House of Commons, even for eight and forty Hours. With that slender Assurance of their Duration, they instantly adjourned.

Notwithstanding the rising Indignation of the Capital and the Country, which every Day manifested itself with augmenting Energy, in Favour of Administration; yet the Minister’s Situation at this Juncture, equally painful in itself, as it was without Precedent in our Parliamentary History, appeared to

be at Times not wholly exempt from personal Danger. Fox might be said, without either Metaphor or Exaggeration, to hold suspended over his Head, the severest Marks of the Indignation of an offended House of Commons. His Removal from the King's Presence and Councils, as an Enemy to his Country; his Impeachment, or his Commitment to the Tower;—any, or all of these Propositions, might probably, nay, might certainly have been carried, in Moments of Effervescence, when the Passions of a popular Assembly, inflamed by such a Conductor as Fox, seemed to be ripe for any Act of Violence. The Irritation and Impatience produced by Debates, protracted or repeated Night after Night, rendered his Followers susceptible of Impressions the most hostile to the Minister; who, in sullen Majesty, or in contumelious Silence, heard, unmoved, their clamorous Denunciations, seated calmly on the Treasury Bench. Mr. Pitt displayed in that Situation, during successive Weeks, a Combination of Fortitude, Self-possession, Presence of Mind, and Ability, which I never recollect without Admiration. He did not indeed manifest the Savagery, Amenity, and Wit, of Lord North, or

of Sheridan. But, always preserving the Command of himself, he was never led into Deviations from Caution and Prudence, even when he seemed most to set at Defiance, the Menaces of his Adversaries. If we reflect on his Period of Life, our Surprise is augmented. He constituted indeed in himself, the Administration which he defended ; and which, without him, could not have been maintained for a single Week, in Existence.

It may naturally be asked, why Fox, holding in his Hand so powerful an Engine as the Majority of a House of Commons, which Assembly, he well knew, might every Day be dissolved ; and the individual Members composing which Superiority, he saw diminishing after almost every Debate or Division, in consequence of the natural Operation of a Variety of obvious Causes ; yet should never have let fall its Vengeance on the Head of the Minister, whom he apparently held in his Power ? Why, when he saw all the ordinary Expedients exhausted or ineffectual, which might compel the King to dismiss his Administration, or induce the Ministry to resign ; did he tamely wait, till Mr. Pitt's Measures being ripe,

and the Country having declared almost unanimately on his Side, a Dissolution reduced the *Coalition* to Insignificance, and overwhelmed their ill-concerted Schemes for perpetuating their Authority? Fox wanted neither Vigor, Decision, nor Inclination, to have anticipated his own approaching Fall, and the Extinction of his ambitious Plans. Nor could he deceive himself relative to the political Destruction which impended over the *Coalition*, if they did not prove victorious in the actual Contest. How then, and on what Principles of common Sense, are we to explain this seeming Contradiction in his Conduct?

Fox possessed no absolute Certainty in the first Place, whatever he might believe, that the same Majority which had supported him in voting Remonstrances to the Throne, would either stop the Supplies, or carry up an Address for Mr. Pitt's Removal. Various Country Gentlemen already called for a Union, and thought that no Administration from which he should be excluded, would be found equal to the national Emergency. Even many of Fox's Supporters among them loudly deprecated all Extremities. They

might abandon him. He might therefore be left in a Minority, and all his Consequence, as the Head of a great Party, would thus be lost by one imprudent Step. But, granting however, as seemed most probable, that he should carry a personal Question against Mr. Pitt, by ten, twenty, or thirty Votes, in a crowded House; what would be the inevitable Effect of such a Victory? That the King, sustained by the Voice of the Country, and not susceptible of Fear, when he believed himself to be acting right; instead of dismissing his Ministers, would dissolve the Parliament, and confidently appeal to the People, against their own Representatives. In that Case, Fox, far from attaining his Object, would only have accelerated a Dissolution; and would afford to his Antagonist, a plausible, if not a solid Excuse, for advising the Sovereign to adopt that Measure. These were unquestionably, the real Causes of Fox's seeming Moderation. Nor did Pitt, on the other Hand, want Motives equally powerful in restraining him from any precipitate Movement. The County Members who supported him, were adverse to a Dissolution, unless Circumstances rendered it indispensable. By temporizing and pro-

tracting, however irksome, and even in some Degree humiliating, might be considered his Situation in Parliament; he gave Time for the public Sentiment to be loudly, as well as generally pronounced, and could avail himself of it at any Moment. Such were the Considerations which mutually withheld the two Chiefs from proceeding to Extremities, till the natural and unavoidable Progress of Affairs, produced the final Consummation.

[26th January.] The Idea of endeavouring to reconcile two Men, who combined in their Characters, almost all the great Endowments fitted for Government; if it could be realized, seemed apparently pregnant, at first View, with incalculable Benefit to the Country. Some Individuals of Respectability in the House of Commons, impelled by these Feelings, undertook the Experiment. As early as the 20th of January, the Idea was suggested from various Quarters, in the Course of Debate; but, neither Fox nor Pitt, though both affected to consider it as an Object highly desirable, pretended to think it practicable without a Sacrifice of Principle. Fox fairly avowed that he entertained very little Hope of seeing such a

Union effected, as could prove a Blessing to the Country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer professed a similar Conviction, and stated it in still plainer Language. "I am by no means averse," observed he, "to the Union so strenuously and so respectably recommended; but, I agree with the Right Honorable Gentleman, (Fox,) that such a Union, not founded on Principle, would only prove fallacious, and would produce Disunion in a Quarter where it must be attended with worse Consequences to the State, than can result from our Disputes in this Assembly:" Marsham, while he coincided in Sentiment with the two preceding Speakers, yet expressed his warm Satisfaction at the Assurances which they gave, of their mutual Disposition to act together for the public Extrication. But, Powis, with more Discernment, exclaimed, "A Union of Abilities has been loudly called for within these Walls. I rather wish to see a Union of Principle. The former may produce discordant Counsels, and feeble Measures. The latter must have opposite Results."

In Fact, however specious the Project ap-

peared in Theory, it proved impracticable, and only served to demonstrate the Futility of the Attempt. The St. Alban's Tavern became the Scene of this Parliamentary Drama, to which Place repaired about sixty or more Members, distinguished for high Character, large Property, and acknowledged Uprightness of Intention. Though they chose Mr. Thomas Grosvenor, Brother to the Peer of that Name, and one of the Representatives for the City of Chester, as their nominal Chairman; their Deliberations and Proceedings were chiefly conducted by two Gentlemen, who had already on various Occasions, taken a Lead in the Debates carried on within the Walls of the House. The first, the Honorable Charles Marsham, Son and Heir of Lord Romney, himself Member for Kent; though a Man by no Means prepossessing or engaging in his Manners, which were coarse and inelegant; yet wanted not Ability, and attracted deservedly general Consideration in his Parliamentary Capacity. The other, Mr. Powis, whom I have had so often Occasion to mention, and who commonly prefaced his Speeches, on Occasions of great Interest, by a copious Discharge of Tears, which he seemed to

command at Will ; challenged Attention from his recognized Integrity, Eloquence, Energy of Mind, and Impartiality.

The Duke of Portland, as nominal Head of one Party, and Pitt, as Leader of the other, affected equally to receive with Deference, the Propositions made to each, on the Part of the associated Members. It is probable, however, that the Duke, in this Profession, might be more sincere than the Minister. Difficulties and Objections, either to a personal Interview, or to a Negotiation, were started in turn by both. Pitt refusing to resign, or even to hear of a *virtual* Resignation, which was required of him, as a previous Step to any Conference for the Purpose of forming an extended Administration ; the Overtures were suspended, and finally broken off, in consequence of these preliminary Impediments. But, the patriotic Zeal of the St. Alban's Meeting, was not to be overcome by ordinary Obstacles ; and they returned to the Charge some Time afterwards, apparently under more propitious Auspices. In Compliance with their Suggestion and Wishes, the King was even induced, towards the End of the Month of Fe-

bruary, to send a Message to the Duke of Portland, recommending a Conference between him and Pitt, with a View to constitute a Ministry, on "a wide Basis, and on *fair and equal Terms.*" Instead of instantly closing with such a Proposition, from which, neither the Sovereign, nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whatever might have been their secret Wishes, could easily recede, without incurring the Imputation of Insincerity; the Duke of Portland and Fox thought proper to cavil about the Acceptation of the Term "*equal.*" At this Opening, with which they injudiciously furnished him, Pitt escaped, by refusing to define any Expressions, before the proposed Interview.

All further Efforts were therefore ultimately abandoned, with a View to produce a political Union between two Men, whose mutual Animosity and Rivality seemed to derive new Force, from the unsuccessful Attempts made to effect a Reconciliation. With whatever Complacency and ostensible Alacrity, Pitt invariably received the Propositions for such a Junction, it is difficult to persuade Ourselves that he could cordially desire their Accomplishment. He beheld

the Prize for which they were contending, nearly attained and secured. His Ambition impelled him to govern alone, without an Equal and a Co-adjutor in the Cabinet, of such Energy as Fox. Even their Recriminations in Parliament, which had been so acrimonious and so recent, seemed hardly to admit of being buried in instant Oblivion, without a mutual Sacrifice of Principle. We are warranted therefore in believing, that an Accommodation, forced on both by imperious Circumstances, would have proved hollow, insincere, and of short Duration. They appeared to be not formed for acting together as Members of the same Administration; nor did they ever openly coalesce for an Instant, during their whole remaining Lives. The French Revolution itself, which successively brought over to Government, as to an Asylum against the Evils of a sanguinary anarchical Republic, so many other eminent Individuals, at whose Head were the Duke of Portland, Burke, and Windham; could never induce Fox to quit the Opposition Bench. He remained fixed there above two and twenty Years, till Death liberated him from his Antagonist; and he then only became a Minister, when,

perhaps unfortunately for his Country, his own Career drew to its Close.

During the Debate of the 26th of January, in Answer to the Charges brought against him by Fox, who called on him to resign his unconstitutional Power, as a necessary Preliminary to any Union; the new First Minister replied with equal Dignity and Force of Expression. He seemed, indeed, to feel not the slightest Apprehension from the Indignation or the Votes of his Antagonist's Majority. "I came into Office," observed he, "to fulfil the Duty which I owe his Majesty, whose Confidence I have not forfeited by any Experiment for introducing a new Power or Estate into the Constitution."—"I consider myself as aggrieved; since, wholly untried in my ministerial Capacity, I lie under the Censure of a Resolution of this House: but I have at least the Consolation to reflect, that in Proportion as the present Cabinet becomes more known, its Members rise in the Confidence and Esteem of Parliament, as well as of the People. I may appeal for the Truth of my Assertion, to the decaying Majorities of the Opposition.

—"Not that I am inimical to a Reconciliation or a Union, which has been so strongly recommended; but, in Order to accomplish this Object, all personal Views or Prejudices, all Pride and Punctilio, must be laid aside. The Right Honorable Gentleman has insisted on the entire Resignation of the present Ministers, previous to any Negotiation. But, though I occupy an Employment of Eminence, it is not one of Choice; and I trust, whenever the Occasion calls for it, I shall approve myself neither tenacious of Power, nor improperly attached to Office. I act from patriotic, not private Views: but, my Sense of public Duty compels me to retain my actual Situation, till another Arrangement can be formed; and not to suffer this great Country to be again plunged into a State of Anarchy, accompanied with the Absence of all Government, as we experienced on a recent Occasion." The Inflexibility and Determination manifested in Pitt's Speech, left little rational Prospect of Accommodation.

[2d—10th February.] The Discussions which took place in the House of Commons,

between the Termination of January, and the Middle of the ensuing Month, though equally violent and acrimonious with the preceding Debates, contained less Matter of Interest, or of Novelty. Accusations, levelled against the " East India Bill," from the Treasury Bench; or against Secret Influence, from the opposite Side; began to weary their Hearers, and made little Impression.

Fox continued, it is true, Master of the Deliberations of the lower House of Parliament; his Majorities sometimes falling as low as nineteen, and at other Times rising to thirty-one: but, this precarious Superiority was far overbalanced by his Decline in the popular Esteem. No Eloquence, nor any Exertions of Sophistry, could reconcile the Public to his Union with Lord North, followed immediately by the Introduction of a Measure, obviously calculated to cement their political Power at the Expence of the Crown, which it must have reduced to a State of Insignificance or Vassalage. During the Course of the Debate which arose on the 2d of February, when Mr. Grosvenor moved that " an *extended* and *united* Administration was necessary for the Extrication of the Country from its distracted

"State," great Difference of Opinion respecting its Eligibility, was exhibited among the Members of the Assembly. Powis, whose Sentiments upon every Point inspired great Respect, declared that "a general Coalition was now become a Matter, not of Choice, but of Necessity." "No Man," added he, "can any longer oppose it, without voting in Effect that the national Business shall be suspended, which must produce general Ruin." Widely different was the View of Things taken by Sir Cecil Wray, who, however inferior to Powis in Ability, yet, as being Fox's Colleague for Westminster, and possessing plain common Sense, was heard with much Attention. "I cannot," said he, "consistently with my Duty or my Principles, contribute by my Vote to replace in Cabinet, the very Individuals, who by their late daring Invasion of the Rights and Properties of their fellow Subjects, have been so justly dismissed by His Majesty, *and some of whom ought to have been brought to the Block.*"—"As to the Distractions in the State, which are mentioned in the *Motion*, I know of none; nor do I believe in their Existence. On the contrary, the People seem to be nearly

“ of one Opinion, respecting the present Ministers, and those recently in Power. The former are generally regarded as honest and virtuous ; while the others are thought to have justly forfeited their Employments, for having attacked the most sacred Privileges of their fellow Citizens. There are hardly two Opinions on this Subject, without Doors. This House, indeed, has declared that it has no Confidence in the Administration ; but, the Addresses which are daily pouring in from different Parts of the Kingdom, prove how much the Public confide in them. The unavoidable Inference is, that *the Voice of the House of Commons, is no longer the Voice of the People of England.*”

Fox, in his Reply, treated the Addresses to which Sir Cecil had alluded, with great Contumely ; not foreseeing how rapidly they would spread over the whole Surface of the Country. Of Westminster, and of Middlesex, he spoke, as Portions of England inaccessible to Ministerial Artifice or Delusion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer having assented to Mr. Grosvenor's *Motion*, Mr. Coke, Member for Norfolk, immediately proposed, that

“ the Continuance of the present Ministers in
“ Power, is an *Obstacle* to an *extended* and
“ *united* Administration :” Fox thus conducting his Majority forward from Step to Step, till he should carry them to the intended Consummation. On this Mode of Parliamentary Proceeding, Pitt commented with much Severity and Justice of Animadversion. “ The House,” observed he, “ has
“ been insidiously led on from one Resolution to another, without ever discussing
“ any single Proposition on its own proper
“ Merits. The first Resolutions were voted
“ at six in the Morning;—a most unusual
“ Hour ; with scarcely any Debate or Discussion. The second grew out of the
“ former, and were followed by the third.
“ But, how had they been discussed?—As
“ mere Corollaries to the preceding Propositions, which this Assembly was bound
“ in Consistency to adopt, as a Matter of
“ Course. Thus artfully have we been kept
“ from forming a fair Estimate of the Questions submitted to us.”—Having endeavoured to point out the Contradictions in which Powis involved himself, by *voting* for the Resolutions, though he *opposed* and *disapproved* them ; though he admitted that

“ they were hastily proposed, grounded on
“ doubtful or unauthenticated Premises, and
“ held out unfair Conclusions ;”—Pitt ad-
verted to other Parts of that Gentleman’s
Speech. “ He does not wish me,” added
the Minister, “ to quit the Fortress, as he
“ denominates it, that I occupy, and to
“ march out with a Halter about my Neck.
“ Sir, the only Fortress that I recognize, or
“ ever desire to defend, is the Fortress of
“ the Constitution. For its Preservation I
“ will resist every Attack, and every Seduc-
“ tion. With what Regard, indeed, either
“ to my own personal Honour, or to public
“ Principle, can I change my Armour, and
“ meanly beg to be received as a Volunteer
“ among the Forces of the Enemy? This is
“ a Humiliation to which I never will con-
“ descend.”—“ I am nevertheless disposed
“ to facilitate, as far as my Principles will
“ allow me, the Union so much desired.
“ But, I see no Reason for the previous
“ Resignation of Ministers, and never will
“ consent to it. If the House think other-
“ wise, there are constitutional Means open
“ to them, either by Impeachment for our
“ Crimes, if we have committed any, or by
“ addressing the Crown for our Removal.”

Mr. Coke's Motion passed by a Majority of Nineteen, in a very crowded House, where four Hundred and twenty-seven Members were present.

Notwithstanding this apparent Triumph of the *Coalition*, their Cause declined in the public Estimation from Day to Day. Neither the powerful Eloquence of Fox, the Sal-lies of Wit which illuminated every Speech of Lord North, nor the happy Mixture of Humour, Argument, and Satire, which characterized the Efforts of Sheridan in Parliament, could rescue the Party from the Imputation of having made mutual Sacrifices of Principle. During the Debate of the subsequent Evening, the third of February, Sheridan even avowed without Circumlocution, that when Fox first communicated to him, the Proposition of coalescing with his antient Adversary, he advised his Right Honorable Friend by no Means to accede to it; as the insurmountable Prejudices imbibed throughout the Nation, would infallibly produce the Loss of his Popularity, Character, and general Estimation. Sheridan added indeed, that on maturely weighing the Motives of State Necessity by which it was

dictated ; when sustained by his Experience of the Honour, Principles, and Steadiness of Lord North ; he rejoiced at the Union which had taken Place, even in Contradiction to his own Advice. But, it is evident from this Disclosure of his Sentiments, that he reasoned more dispassionately than Fox ; who, seduced by his Ambition, goaded by his Wants, and beholding only the numerical Ascendant which Lord North's Junction would give him, in one, if not in both, Houses of Parliament, imagined that he could coerce the Sovereign, and might either persuade, delude, or despise the People. The Event fully justified Sheridan's Opinion, and manifested the Superiority of his Judgment : since, even though we should admit that Lord Shelburne would inevitably have remained in Power, if Fox had not joined Lord North, yet the former must have occupied the most imposing Situation as a public Man, placed in some Measure at the Head of the Rockingham Party, while maintaining his original Ground of Opposition ; and could not probably have been long excluded from a Participation in the Counsels of the Crown, even by Pitt himself.

In vain did Sheridan, with admirable Wit, endeavour to shew that an equal Sacrifice of all political Principle had taken Place on the ministerial Side of the House, as was exhibited among the Members opposite them :—an Assertion which he attempted to illustrate by the Spectacle which the Treasury Bench presented, where the Individuals now seated Side by Side, were beheld recently acting in Hostility towards each other. But, the Union of inferior or subordinate Persons, did not excite Sentiments of equal Repugnance, nor awaken such moral Condemnation, as the *Coalition* of two Principals, the one of whom had, for successive Years, been loaded by the other, with the severest Imputations, and denounced as a just Object of national Vengeance. In vain did Fox accuse the First Minister, “after assassinating the Constitution by Secret Influence, in one House of Parliament; with having Recourse to Methods of the basest Corruption, in Order to procure a Majority in another.” As vainly did Rigby reproach Pitt with lavishing Peerages for the same Purpose; while it was notorious that the late Administration was debarred from conferring similar Dignities, and

had not been able to make even a single British Peer. With as little Effect did Marsham read the Resolutions adopted by the Meeting at the St. Alban's Tavern, affirming "that any Administration founded "on the total Exclusion of the Members of "the last, or of the present Ministry, would "be inadequate to the public Exigencies;" or did Powis urge the Chancellor of the Exchequer to resign, as a necessary Preliminary to all Conciliation. Pitt, though he still professed to desire an Union, "provided it could be effected without a Sacrifice of Principle or of Honour;" yet not only refused previously to retire from Office, but, started many ulterior Impediments to the Accomplishment of the Object itself.

No Symptoms of Approximation between the contending Parties, beyond unmeaning Professions of mutual Disposition to bury in Oblivion past Animosities, took Place: while among their respective Adherents, a Spirit of inveterate Enmity was exhibited. Lord Mulgrave, in one of his Speeches, charged Fox with "trampling the House of Brunswick under Foot," by his "East India Bill;" and though called to Order by the

late Secretary of State, inveighed against him as "a Plunderer and an Invader." Governor Johnstone said, that "if an Election for a *King* were to take Place in this Country, Mr. Fox should have his Vote; so high an Opinion did he entertain of those transcendant Abilities which the Right Honorable Gentleman possessed: but, wishing to preserve the Constitution, he had negatived a Bill which would have placed its Author above all Control." His Talents," added Johnstone, "I admit to be pre-eminent: so were those of Julius Cæsar, who undid Rome. Oliver Cromwell, who made the House of Commons his Instrument, overturned the Constitution. Such would have been the Effect of the East India Bill, if it had passed the Legislature. Nor is the Continuance of the present Minister in Office, less necessary in Order to prevent the Renewal of that Measure, than was his original Acceptance of Employment, to defeat it in the first Instance." Wilberforce declared, that "even if that obnoxious Bill had passed the House of Peers, by as great a Majority as it did the lower House, yet he should equally have thanked the Crown for dis-

“missing the late Ministers.” Pitt himself, treating with Defiance, as well as with Contempt, Fox’s indirect Attempts to force his Resignation, called on his Antagonist to come boldly forward; and either to criminate his Conduct as a Minister, or to move a personal Question for his Removal from Office. Professing his own Purity, both as a Man, and as a public Functionary, he avowed his Indifference for all the Clamour of Party, or the unfounded Imputations brought against the Mode of his attaining Power; and concluded by trusting that the House would do Justice to the Motives, which actuated his present Line of Conduct.

[11th—17th February.] Burke by no means took the same active or conspicuous Part in the Debates that followed the Rejection of the “East India Bill,” as he had exhibited while the Measure was on its Progress to the upper House. With the Loss of the Pay Office, he seemed to have lost for a Time, much of his Energy of Mind. Even Lord North scarcely occupied the second Place in these Parliamentary Convulsions, where Sheridan and Erskine, Powis and even Marsham, severally attracted almost as

much Attention, as the late First Minister. His blue Ribband, seen conspicuous among the great Coats, buff Waistcoats, and dirty Boots of his new Allies, involuntarily recalled the Reflection of his having given the Law from the Treasury Bench, during twelve Years, to the same Assembly, in which he now performed so humiliating and inferior a Character. He bore nevertheless, this political Change, under which many Men would have sunk, with that imperturbable Serenity and Equality of Temper, which ever distinguished him through Life. He acquired even the Applauses of every Party, by the manly Promptitude, and cheerful Readiness, which he shewed to sacrifice all personal Objects or Interests, to the public Tranquillity. When Pitt avowed, that however highly he might respect that Nobleman's Abilities, or esteem his private Character, yet they could never sit together in the same Cabinet; Lord North, while he loudly censured the contemptuous Dignity, and unaccommodating Spirit of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; nevertheless declared, that no Considerations relative to himself, should for an Instant impede the Formation of a new Ministry, con-

sonant to the general Wishes of the Country.

“ There may be Individuals,” observed Pitt, “ against whom I entertain no personal Dislike or Ill-will; whose private Character I even respect and revere; whose Abilities are great;—and yet, with whom I could never bring myself to sit, or to act, in the Cabinet.” No Reply could be more dignified, yet disinterested, than that of Lord North. “ It is impossible for me to avoid perceiving,” said he, “ that I am the Person to whom Allusion is made. From whatever Quarter, however, such Expressions may come, and with whatever Form of Words, they may be cloathed, I never will quit my Situation, or be driven from the Ground which I occupy in this Country, to gratify the Caprice or the Prejudices of any Man, whatever may be his Position in the State, or his Opinion of himself. But, if in the present distracted Condition of the Country, produced by the Means which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has used for obtaining Power, I find that the national Voice demands my Retirement; or that public Opinion regards me as an Obstacle to that extended and

“ united Administration, so anxiously required, God forbid that I should impede the Consummation of such a salutary Union! No Love of Power or Emolument, no Object of Ambition, shall induce me for a single Day to form a Bar to the Completion of that great Object.” This Declaration elicited the warmest Expressions of Admiration from Marsham and Powis :—Eulogiums the more noticed, as no Individuals in the House, had treated him with greater Acrimony, when First Lord of the Treasury, during the latter Part of the American War. Powis, after panegyricizing Lord North’s Virtues, subjoined, “ For my own Part, I am not among the Number of those Persons, who would wish to exclude the noble Lord from any Place in a future Administration; but, since he has so disinterestedly expressed his Readiness to sacrifice his own Prospects, to the general Tranquillity and Benefit, the Fault will henceforward lie with the Minister, if he should still refuse to pay to the House of Commons, the Deference due to a Branch of the Legislature.”

Lord North was nevertheless unable to

prevent the Borough of Banbury, for which Place he sat in Parliament, and where his Family had always possessed a decisive Influence; from joining in the general Cry against the *Coalition*, and even framing an Address, thanking His Majesty for the recent Dismission from Office, of their actual Representative in the House of Commons. A Delegation from the Inhabitants of Banbury, waited on me in London, bringing with them the Address itself; accompanied by a Request that I would present it to the King, on the first Levee Day, at St. James's. But, on full Consideration, I declined taking such a personal Part against a Nobleman whom I greatly respected, loved, and honoured, though I had withdrawn from the Party with which he had connected himself. Lord North, alluding afterwards, during the Debate which took Place on the 27th of February, to this Address, declared that "he had the Conso-
"lation to know, it was not signed by one
"of those Individuals, his Constituents, who
"returned him to Parliament." It spoke nevertheless, the Sentiments of a large and respectable Portion of the Inhabitants and Householders of the Place.

[18th and 19th February.] No Circumstance could more forcibly demonstrate the little Apprehension felt by Pitt, of the Effects of Parliamentary Indignation; or could prove in a stronger Manner, the Confidence with which his own Popularity inspired him, than his Conduct at this Juncture. Almost immediately after the Extinction of the fallacious Expectations awakened by the St. Alban's Tavern Meeting, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rising in his Place, calmly acquainted the House, that "the King, notwithstanding their Resolutions, had not thought proper to dismiss his Ministers; and that they had not resigned." Such a Piece of Information, so delivered, seemed meant to force the *Coalition* on some Measure of Violence. Fox, nevertheless, while he did not affect to conceal his Indignation at the Affront offered to the legislative Body, and at the Defiance conveyed in the Minister's Words; yet knew too well the feeble State of the Machine over which he presided, to press heavily upon its Springs. He reprobated indeed, the Treatment which the House experienced;—a Treatment demanding, he said, exemplary Punishment. But he concluded with only proposing an Adjourn-

ment of eight and forty Hours, in order to give the Minister Time for Reflection. This Motion, so distinguished by involuntary Forbearance, he carried by *twelve*; a very slender Superiority, where above four Hundred Members divided.

Fox, on this Occasion, though he pretended to deprecate any intemperate Step, and only demanded a Respite of one or two Days; exclaiming with Dido, while he accommodated her Complaints to his own Feelings,

“Tempus inane peto; Spatium Requiemque *Furori*,”

yet endeavoured, by a most able and laboured Appeal to the wounded Pride of the House, to inflame their Passions, while he directed their Resentment against the Minister. Powis highly approved and supported the Motion, which, he said, was in itself moderate, forbearing, and the only proper Course adapted to the extraordinary Circumstances of the Country, as it allowed breathing Time, while a Compromise, he hoped, might yet be effectuated. But, there were other independent Members of the House, who held a different Language. Sir William Lemon, one of the

Representatives for the County of Cornwall, declared that he wished not for any Union, on the Principles laid down by Fox. "I never liked," said he, "any of the *Resolutions* adopted by this Assembly, of which the present Ministers are the Object. I consider them as arbitrary, violent, and personal. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has already made every Concession compatible with his private Honor, and his official Situation. Those two great component Parts of his present Existence, must stand or fall together. I am happy that he has displayed so much Firmness in so good a Cause, and I trust he will not stoop to any unbecoming Negotiation."

Thus sustained from without, as well as from within, Pitt not only displayed the most determined Resolution, but, charged Fox and his Adherents, with systematically withholding the Supplies; thus sacrificing their Country, as he asserted, to private Faction, Enmity, or Ambition. A Distinction was however drawn by the Opposition, between *withholding* the Supplies, and only *postponing* them; which latter Line of Con-

duct, Powis, in moderate Language, and Marsham, with much stronger Asseveration, declared to constitute their sole Intention. The last mentioned Member recriminated with Asperity on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as expecting from him the same servile Submission in registering the ministerial Edicts, which the French Sovereigns exacted in the Assemblies denominated Parliaments. With more Ability, Fox attempted to make a Compromise with the Minister; offering instantly to vote the Supplies, provided that the House might receive Assurances from him, that "His Majesty would comply with the Desires of his faithful Commons." But, Pitt, after first declaring the Conviction of "his personal Honor being inseparably connected with his present official Situation, and his Determination never to resign, as a Prelude to Negotiation;"—in other Words, "to leave his Place, and then to treat with the Opposition, in Order to form Part of a new Administration;"—peremptorily refused to barter Office for Supply, or to enter into any Stipulation on the Subject. From this Resolution, expressed in laconic, but, energetic Terms, neither Menaces, Blanishments, nor Expostulations, could induce

him to recede: and after a prolonged Debate of two successive Days, Fox, as the Master of the Assembly, finally moved to adjourn the Sitting on the State of the Nation, which was carried without a Division. He still remained all-powerful within those Walls; but, Pitt's Superiority lay without Doors, in every County, Town, and Village.

Already, Addresses crowded in, from London, down to New Sarum; a Borough which, though consisting only of one solitary Farm House, yet, as belonging to Lord Camelford, who had just been elevated to the Peerage, did not omit to offer its Tribute of Loyalty to the Crown, and of Abhorrence for the Measures of the Opposition. Middlesex, Southwark, even Westminster, abandoning Fox, approached the Throne with Congratulations, or with Testimonies of Approbation at the Dismission of the late Ministers. York, a City where the Cavendish Interest had always been predominant, and which Place the late Chancellor of the Exchequer actually represented in Parliament; — Edinburgh, Worcester, Exeter, and many other inferior Towns, followed the Example,

which spread with Rapidity throughout the whole Island. When we reflect on these Facts, we shall probably think that Mr. Pitt, whatever Professions he might either make, himself; or whatever Wishes for "an united and extended Administration," he might judge proper to put into his Royal Master's Mouth, in Reply to the Addresses of the House of Commons; yet could have nourished no serious Intentions of dividing his Power with Fox.

Among the Persons of Rank who acted a conspicuous Part, and manifested more than ordinary Enthusiasm in the Cause of Pitt, at this Time, were two well known Noblemen, Lord Mahon, and Lord Mountmorres. I have already made Mention of the former, whose Eccentricities of Dress, Character, and Deportment, however great they might be, were nevertheless allied to extraordinary Powers of Elocution, as well as Energies of Mind. My Acquaintance with him was slight; but, during many Years I lived in Habits of familiar and frequent Intercourse with Lord Mountmorres. In his Person he was tall, slender, of a dark and adust Complexion; active, and always on his Feet, to

so great a Degree, as to convey an Idea of Ubiquity personified ;—for, he seemed to be in many Places at the same Time. Invariably busy, yet never attaining his Object ; unsuccessful in Love, in Ambition, in every Pursuit ; yet still continuing the Chace. An Orator in Print, but, destitute of Eloquence ; and printing Speeches which he had never pronounced. Fluent and plausible in Conversation, though wanting Judgment. Abandoning his hereditary Seat in the Irish House of Peers, where he might have been useful to his Country, he preferred London ; borne up by the fallacious Hope of acquiring a Place in the English House of Commons, which he never accomplished. An Enthusiast in Politics, he was not the less an Economist in his Expences ; and though ardent in his Views, always keeping his Purse close shut. Perpetually planning Marriages, but never succeeding in them, he finally died without entering into that State. Such was Lord Mountmorres, to whom the Authors of the “*Rolliad*,” have assigned *two* “*Probationary Odes* ;” while to all the other Individuals selected for Ridicule, among whom I hold my Place, they have only attributed one Production of that Kind. On the Hustings,

whether erected in Covent Garden, in Palace Yard, or in Westminster Hall, both the above mentioned Noblemen were constantly found, as in their proper Element; and Fox had not in the whole Range of the Metropolis, two more determined Enemies. Lord Mahon was however in all Senses the most formidable, pertinacious, and respectable.

As the Tide of popular Indignation rose against the "East India Bill," tumultuary Meetings took Place in many Parts of the Kingdom, where the general Sense of the Inhabitants was collected. Westminster itself, which during the last Years of Lord North's unfortunate Administration, had constituted the Citadel and the Sanctuary of Fox; renouncing its voluntary Allegiance, raised the Standard against him. He vainly maintained, both by himself, and through his Adherents in Parliament, particularly Erskine, that this painful Change originated solely in Delusion or Imposture: as if it required a superior Intelligence, to appreciate the Objects of that Measure; or as if Pitt, like the Magician in the "Arabian Nights' Entertainments," could transform Beef and Mutton, into the Appearance of

human Flesh. Lord North, alluding to one of these Assemblages of People in Westminster Hall, which had very recently taken Place, and at which Fox was necessarily present;—I think, it happened in the Course of the Debate of the 18th of February;—gave a most picturesque and ludicrous Description of the Scene, as well as of the principal Performers. “Much,” observed that facetious Nobleman, “has been advanced relative to the pretended Popularity of the present Minister. From what Source does he derive such Nostrums? Is it from the Meeting, held a few Days ago, in Westminster Hall? One Description of Citizens there vociferated, *No Coalition!* while others exclaimed, *No back Stairs Influence!* But, it demanded the utmost Precision of Ear, to decide which of the two Clamours predominated. Indeed, the Noise owed its Origin, as I am assured, not so much to the Multitude, as to two noble Lords who were there present. The first, (Lord Mahon,) by his nervous, impassioned Gesticulation, and sonorous Oratory, is well calculated to carry away the Prize in such a Contest. The disinterested Eloquence of the other

“ Peer, (Lord Mountmorres,) claims peculiar
“ Respect. Not influenced by British Pro-
“ perty, he has magnanimously exposed his
“ Person in a Voyage to this Island, and
“ has hazarded the Perils of the Sea. Pro-
“ fessing himself a Citizen of the World,
“ an Advocate for the universal Rights of
“ Mankind, he has abandoned his native
“ Country. He has even left its Freedom
“ in Jeopardy, in Order that he may devote
“ his whole Faculties to the Interests and
“ Preservation of this Nation. From the
“ Operation and Influence of such exalted
“ Characters on the public Mind, we cannot
“ reason with Safety.”

Masterly as this Piece of historic Oratory must be esteemed, and powerful as was its Operation on the Muscles of the Audience, when pronounced; Lord Mahon, two Days afterwards, during the Discussion of the 20th February, retaliated with great Severity, not unaccompanied with Ability, on his political Adversaries. After enumerating the unequivocal Proofs of Unpopularity which Fox received at the Meeting alluded to by Lord North, “ Does he,” exclaimed Lord Mahon, “ interpret Groans into Ap-

“plause, and take Hisses for Approbation?
“—There was a Time, when he was heard
“like an Oracle! Why? Because the Pub-
“lic credulously believed that he was fight-
“ing their Battles, as a sincere and honest
“Tribune of the People. But, their Eyes
“are opened since he has attempted to raise
“himself above the free Constitution of his
“Country, by aspiring to the Place of a Dic-
“tator.”—“How was their Zeal expressed?
“In pretty intelligible Words. *No Grand*
“*Mogul! No India Tyrant! No Usurper!*
“*No Turncoat! No Catiline!*—If such be
“the Popularity to which he aspires, and if
“such are the Marks of Approbation of
“which he boasts, long may he continue to
“receive them!” Even Pitt, in the Course
of the same Evening, had Recourse to simi-
lar Illustrations of the Decline of Fox’s In-
fluence over his Constituents, who once idol-
ized him. Having stated the Defeat of the
Coalition at *Reading*, he next adverted to
their Discomfiture at *Hackney*, where the
Freeholders of Middlesex had been conven-
ed. Fixing his Eyes on George Byng, one
of the Members for that County, “I see
“over against me,” observed he, “a most
“determined Chieftain, just returned from

“ that Field of Warfare; whose Brow, indeed, is no longer, as formerly, adorned with the Smiles of Victory. Whether at *Westminster* it is a Proof of Triumph, that the People would not even hear the Right Honorable Gentleman, (Fox,) who once could charm the Multitude into mute Attention;—whether *He*, emphatically denominated *the Man, and the Champion, of the People*, is now content with the Execution of those Multitudes, whom he so long held in voluntary Bonds of Attachment and Homage;—these are Points on which I will not decide: but, sure I am, that if *Westminster* constitutes his only Proof, the Voice of the People is no longer with him.” Fox, though little accustomed to allow such Speeches to remain unnoticed, did not offer any Reply either to Pitt, or to Lord Mahon. We may, however, form some Idea, from the Scenes portrayed within the Walls of the House of Commons, how great was the Ferment which then pervaded the Metropolis and the Kingdom.

[February 4th—16th.] The House of Peers, which Assembly, after arresting the Progress of the “ East India Bill,” as if ex-

hausted by that Effort, had ever since remained silent and supine Spectators of the Contest carrying on between the Crown and the Commons ; exhibited some Symptoms of Animation about this Time, by adopting, early in the Month of February, two Propositions of a Nature tending to condemn the Conduct of the lower House, and to strengthen the Hands of the Sovereign. The Earl of Effingham, who during many Years of his Life, had manifested the most decided Hostility to the King's Government ; and who, as late as June, 1780, was unjustly accused of personally mixing in the Riots of the Capital ; now appeared as the zealous Defender of Prerogative. He was sustained by the Duke of Richmond, whose political Character and Opinions had undergone since 1782, a similar Transformation : while on the other Hand, the Resolutions moved by Lord Effingham, found the warmest Opponents in the Earl of Mansfield, in Lord Stormont, and Lord Loughborough, so long the systematic Champions of Royalty.

Few Debates more animated, as well as acrimonious and personal, have ever taken Place within the Walls of the upper House,

than occurred on this Occasion. While Lord Fitzwilliam drew the most unfavourable Portrait of the young First Lord of the Treasury, whom he described as deficient not only in Experience, and averse to every social Source of Information, but, as devoured by an overweening and insatiable Thirst of Power; the Duke of Richmond panegyrized his Industry, his Abstraction from Dissipation, his Application to public Business, his Frugality of the national Treasure, and Elevation of Mind; the last of which Qualities had been so conspicuously displayed in his recent Renunciation of a lucrative Sinecure Place. Lord Stormont endeavoured to point the general Indignation against him, for his Presumption in continuing to retain his Situation, in Defiance of the Votes and Resolutions of the House of Commons: while his Predecessors in Office, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord North, and the Earl of Shelburne, had, each in Turn, anticipated, or respectfully obeyed, the first Demonstrations of the Pleasure of that Branch of the Legislature. The Earl of Mansfield, with the political Timidity so characteristic of his whole Life, in every Situation, judicial or parliamentary; deprecated, as the greatest of national Ca-

lamities, any Resolution, which, by interrupting the Harmony subsisting between the two Houses, might lead to a Dissolution. He seemed to contemplate such an Event, if it should take Place, as commensurate with the Destruction of the British Constitution itself; as disbanding the Army, laying up the Navy, suspending the Functions of Government, and throwing the Country into irremediable Confusion. The House, neither deterred nor intimidated by these Denunciations, voted the Resolutions by a large Majority of forty-seven; and followed them immediately with an Address to the Throne, expressive of their Reliance on His Majesty's Wisdom in the Selection of his confidential Servants, as well as by the Assurances of their Support, in the just Exercise of those Prerogatives entrusted to him for the Protection of his People. It was difficult to imagine a Triumph more decisive over the *Coalition*, or a more opportune and important Accession of Strength to the First Minister, struggling against a Majority in the House of Commons. The King received, and replied to the Address, in laconic, but, warm and affectionate Language.

In other Periods of our History, such an Interference, followed by such a Censure, might, and unquestionably would, have called out the Resentment of the Representatives of the People. But, as Fox justly dreaded all Occasions of Rupture, or of Dispute between the two Houses, which might afford the new Ministers a plausible Pretence for the Dissolution of Parliament; he contented himself with dictating and carrying six Counter Resolutions, tending to justify the Line of Conduct that had been adopted by the House of Commons. Lord Beauchamp was selected for the Performance of this Service; and after a Series of Debates which occupied eleven Days, distinguished throughout by the same Asperity as had been exhibited in every preceding Discussion, the Resolutions finally passed without a Division. In the Progress of these gladiatorial Exhibitions of Parliamentary Ability and Dexterity;—for, such they could only be deemed;—Fox, conscious that the Conflict in which he had engaged, wore from Day to Day a more sinister Appearance, and must, however it might be protracted, terminate in his Fall; assumed every Shape, and tried every Means of inducing his Ad-

versary to propose, or to accept, some Principles of Accommodation. At one Time, denouncing the First Lord of the Treasury, Fox held him up to national Execration, as a Conspirator; who aimed at the Life of the House of Commons; which Assembly he at the same Time daily insulted, by appearing among them as a confidential Servant of the Crown, though destitute of their Confidence or Support. Changing altogether his Tone, a few Days afterwards, in soothing Accents, calculated to win their Way into the Heart, he complimented Pitt's Abilities; professed Respect for his political Principles; expressed his Readiness, nay, his Eagerness, to form an Union, provided it was grounded, not on private Interest or Aggrandizement, but, on great public meritorious Motives of Action; apologized for any harsh or unguarded Expressions, which might have occurred in the Warmth of Debate; avowed his Ambition and Love of Glory, as Sentiments which he felt in common with the First Lord of the Treasury; and finished by protesting that he would make every personal Sacrifice at the Shrine of his Country.

In further Corroboration of these concili-

ating Dispositions, Fox took Occasion to declare, that he was ready to accommodate and modify his obnoxious Bill for the Government of India, so as to meet the public Wish, and to acquire the public Confidence. He would abandon the Patronage which it conferred, and would submit every Clause or Regulation of the Measure itself, to the Discussion of Parliament. His noble Friend, Lord North, would prove no Obstacle to Union between the two Parties. There remained only one Stipulation, from which he could never recede; namely, Mr. Pitt's virtual Resignation; as being indispensable in itself, and as an Expiation to the violated Constitution of Great Britain. In Reply to these alternate Menaces and Blandishments, the Minister, on his Part, affected and professed an equal Desire of Union, on Bases of Principle and Honour; disclaimed all personal Views in the Line of Conduct which he had adopted, by his Acceptance of Office; declared that he should ever think he had performed an essential Service to his Country, by defeating a Measure big with Destruction to the Constitution; expressed his Consolation at finding that Fox was disposed to renounce any of its pernicious Features; pro-

tested that he and his Colleagues were all ready to resign their Employments, as soon as a Prospect presented itself of forming an Administration, by which the State might be effectually served; but, took Care to conclude by declaring, that he could neither reconcile it to the Duty which he owed his Sovereign and the People of England, nor to his own Honour, to lay down his Office, before he beheld such a Prospect. It was evident that, amidst these reciprocal Professions and Demonstrations, not the smallest Advance was made on either Side, towards real Approximation.

[20th February.] However decidedly the Sentiments of the Capital and of the Nation, had been already pronounced in Favour of the new Ministers, yet Fox still retained firm Possession of the House of Commons; though he held that Assembly, as he well knew, only by a frail and decaying Tenure. Powis, who, notwithstanding his avowed Disapprobation of the *East India Bill*, and his invincible Repugnance to the *Coalition*, did not the less condemn and oppose the Formation of the new Administration, as wholly subversive of the Dignity and inherent Rights

of the lower House of Parliament; rising in his Place, originated another Effort for compelling the King to dismiss the First Lord of the Treasury. A most animated, long, and acrimonious Debate ensued, terminating in Favour of Opposition, at a very late Hour of the Morning, after two Divisions, both which Fox carried; the first, by a Majority of *twenty*; the last, by *twenty-one*. The Address voted, was ordered to be presented by the whole House. But, this Triumph, however apparently gratifying, might be considered rather as nominal, than real; not extending in Fact beyond the Threshold of the Lobby, and being neither calculated to intimidate the Sovereign, nor to accelerate the First Minister's Resignation.

Lord Nugent, who might with even more Propriety than Welbore Ellis, be denominated the *Nestor* of the House of Commons, at the Period of which I am writing; and who manifested all the Garrulity of Old Age, sustained by a Sort of unblushing Facility of Utterance, which might pass for Eloquence;—took a prominent, and an extraordinary Part in the Discussion. Though closely connected with Earl Temple, to

whom he had married his Daughter, the Heiress of his Fortune; yet he professed ardently to wish a Reconciliation and a Union between the two Rival Statesmen. As an Encouragement to attempt so great a national Object, he stated that he had accomplished, more than thirty Years before, a similar Undertaking, by means of a personal Interview between Lord Granville and Mr. Pelham, which took Place at his own Residence. "These two Candidates for Power," said Lord Nugent, "came to the Appointment, disguised. I introduced them to each other, and then left them alone. A good Supper, and excellent Wine, which I had provided, soon banished mutual Reserve. They spoke freely, became Friends, and so remained. Thus was this *Coalition* effected in a single Night. I am not much acquainted with the two Gentlemen now sitting opposite each other; but, if they will meet at my House, they shall have a delicate Supper, with the finest Wines. *They may even, if they please, get gloriously drunk.* And I will answer for it, over the Bottle, their Punctilios and Distrust will vanish: while Confidence will spring up, where Diffidence

“previously existed.” This Proposition, which seemed rather adapted to a private convivial Party, than becoming a legislative Assembly, excited no Remark from any Quarter; and was excused on Account of the Age, sustained by the bold Peculiarities of the noble Person with whom it originated. Pitt and Fox could not have been reconciled, or made to act together, like Mr. Pelham and Lord Granville. The Men, and the Times, were, both, equally different.

I have never witnessed greater oratorical Exertions made by Fox, than on that Evening. In a Speech of prodigious Length, which might be said to try the Patience of the House, he endeavoured to concentrate every Argument, and to exhaust every Topic of Declamation. But, his Antagonist, elevated by the Victories obtained without Doors, in various Towns and Counties; as well as nearer Home, at Hackney, where the Freeholders of Middlesex had been convened; and above all, in Westminster itself, where Fox had just received the most unequivocal Marks of the Disapprobation, or rather Indignation, of his own Constituents;—elated by his Consciousness of these Advantages, Pitt, with far more Brevity, but,

in a higher Tone than he had ever yet assumed, retorted on his Adversary with inconceivable Severity. After exposing to Derision, the Inconsistence of his present Conduct, in becoming the Champion of a small Majority of the House of Commons, instead of constituting the distinguished Organ of the popular Voice, as he once was; and complimenting him on the Dexterity, with which he supported in turn the most opposite political Characters; Pitt justified himself from the Charge of Imposture, in representing to the Nation the pernicious Consequences to the British Constitution, that must have resulted from "the East India Bill." His Expressions,—I mean, Pitt's,—were dipt in Gall, though arrayed in all the Elegance of Language. "The Right Honorable Gentleman," observed the Minister, "has this Evening appeared in a Character entirely new; but, which he supports, as, indeed, he does all his Parts; —with wonderful Ability. He is to-night the Champion of a small Majority of this House, against the loud and decided Voice of the People. He has even endeavoured, in this, his new Character, to calumniate the English People. *Imposture* was the Term used by his learned

“ Friend; (Erskine),—for, how should the
“ People understand the *India Bill*? Do
“ they know all the Abuses practised on the
“ Ganges?—Sir, they know, that the Loss,
“ nay, the Annihilation of India, could not
“ compensate for the Subversion of the Con-
“ stitution. They could see that the *Bill*
“ raised up a new Power, stripping the
“ Crown of its Prerogative, and the People
“ of their chartered Rights, in order to ren-
“ der its Author, a Dictator over both his
“ Sovereign and his Country.”

Then descending to personal Objects, “ the
“ Right Honorable Gentleman,” said he,
“ calls me a mere nominal Minister, the Pup-
“ pet of Secret Influence. It is because I dis-
“ dain to become *his* Puppet, by resigning
“ my Office, that he thus denominates me.
“ But, his contemptuous Expressions shall
“ never provoke me to Resignation. My
“ own Honour and Reputation I never will
“ resign, to place myself under his Protec-
“ tion; to accept a Nomination from him,
“ and thereby to become a poor, powerless,
“ self-condemned, unprofitable Minister in
“ his Train :—a Minister, serviceable to him
“ perhaps, but altogether incapable of serv-

“ing my King, or my Country. If, indeed,
“I have, as he asserts, submitted to become
“the Puppet and the Minion of the Crown,
“why will he condescend to admit me
“among his Band?”—“Severe, therefore, as
“the Conflict is, my Conscience, my Duty,
“my Attachment to the Constitution, maintain me in my present arduous Situation.
“It arises not from Contempt or Defiance
“of the constitutional Resolutions of this
“Assembly. Neither a Point of Honour,
“nor the Love of Power, impel me to cling
“to Office. The Nature of the Time, and
“I will add, the Voice of the Country, call
“on me to defend this Fortress, and nothing
“shall induce me to surrender it.” He concluded by levelling the severest Reproaches on Fox, for stopping, or as the Opposition termed it, suspending and postponing the Supplies; thus sacrificing the public Interests, to private Animosity or Ambition. No Reply was made to this eloquent Harangue, which seemed finally to extinguish all the fallacious Hopes, so long nourished by sanguine or credulous Individuals, of beholding an Administration founded on a broad Basis. It became evident, that no Intentions of such a Nature, were seriously cherished or en-

couraged; and it was equally palpable, that one of the two contending Parties must ultimately sink under the Superiority of his Opponent.

[21st—27th February.] Already Fox's Majority, undermined by many Causes, began to exhibit Symptoms of rapid Decay. While some Members abandoned the *Coalition*, in Deference to the public Voice, or in Obedience to the Remonstrances of their immediate Constituents; Others yielded to Suggestions of a personal or interested Nature, and withdrew from a sinking Party, whose approaching Extinction they anticipated. These latter Individuals drew on themselves the bitterest Sarcasms for their Desertion, not only from Fox, but, at different Times, from various Members of the Opposition. The King's Answer to the last Address, drawn up with consummate Skill, gracious in its Language, conciliating in its Professions, declaring how anxiously His Majesty desired to form "a firm, efficient, "extended, and united Administration;" but, lamenting the Inefficiency of his Efforts for that Purpose; denying that it would be advanced or facilitated by the previous Dis-

mission of his Ministers, against whom no Charge or Complaint was preferred; observing that Numbers of his Subjects had expressed their Satisfaction at the late Change in his Councils; and finally declining to vacate the essential Offices of executive Government, till he should see a Prospect of effecting such a Union as his faithful Commons recommended:—this Reply augmented the Embarrassments, while it added to the Dismay, of the *Coalition* Leaders.

On the Question being agitated, of adjourning its Consideration for two or three Days; after a short Debate, Fox found himself indeed still in a Majority, but it consisted only of *seven*, though near three Hundred and fifty Members voted. He made nevertheless, on the first Day of the ensuing Month, when the Royal Answer was read by the Speaker, another desperate Attempt to carry the ministerial Trenches by Storm, and sustained it by his accustomed Display of Eloquence. The Debates themselves had however ceased to excite the same Interest, or to awaken the same Attention, as they had produced in earlier Stages of the Contest. Yet in a very full House, falling little

short of four Hundred, the Opposition maintained their Superiority, and even rose to *twelve*. Another Address was voted; but, though it still besought the Sovereign “to lay the Foundation of a strong and stable Government, by the previous Removal of his present Ministers;” it lamented “the Failure of his Endeavours for forming an united Administration; and their Concern, as well as Disappointment, at his Majesty’s not having been advised to take any further Steps for effecting the Object.” It was impossible more clearly to admit their Inability to dictate to the Crown, and their Desire of dividing with Pitt the Power, of which it had become evidently impracticable wholly to deprive him.

The whole Drift and Object of Fox’s Speech were designed to prove, by Reference to the Events of the two preceding Reigns, that both George the First and Second had invariably complied with the expressed Wishes of the House of Commons, in the Choice or Dismission of their Ministers. No Principle of the Constitution could indeed be more clearly recognized, or more indisputable. Pitt himself admitted it. But,

its practical Application in the present Instance, violated common Sense, because neither Cause nor Reason was assigned for compelling the King to dismiss his confidential Servants. "No Man," observed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his Reply to Fox, "can more strongly maintain than myself, the Right of this House to advise the Sovereign, in the Exercise of all his Prerogatives. But, that a Declaration of this House, disproving His Majesty's Ministers, should, *ipso Facto*, compel him to dismiss them, or oblige them to resign, I never will allow."—"Does the History of this Country afford any Instance of an Administration called on to retire from Office, without a Cause?"—Fox's Majority constituted the only Refutation of such Reasoning.

[4th and 5th March.] In his Answer to their Address, the King nearly repeated his preceding Declaration; only subjoining, that "he did not consider the Failure of his recent Endeavours to form an extended and united Administration, as constituting a final Bar to its Accomplishment, if it could have been obtained on Principles of Fairness and Equality." But, as though

he had been desirous at the same Time, of extinguishing any such Expectations, he added, " I know of no farther Steps that I " can take, that are likely to remove the " Difficulties which obstruct that desirable " End." Fox, who beheld as in a Mirror, the Sentence of his perpetual Exclusion from Office, conveyed under these Expressions of the Sovereign; after first postponing the Consideration of His Majesty's Reply, for four Days, endeavoured to throw an insurmountable Barrier in the Way of Dissolution, by delaying the Progress of the Mutiny Bill through the House. An animated Debate ensued on the Subject; in which, while the two Leaders took only a comparatively inferior Share, Lord North spoke at considerable Length, and with great Ability. Under the possible Anticipation that the Majority might be able to prevent the Mutiny Bill from passing, Opinions had been hazarded from Persons seated on the Ministerial Benches, that even though that annual Act should be suffered to expire, yet the King might keep the Army together; both the Men, and the Money for their Payment, being already voted. When therefore the Consent of the House of Peers should be

obtained, the Crown, it was asserted, might have an Army on Foot, with the recognized Approbation of Parliament. Sir Adam Ferguson, Member for the County of Ayr in Scotland, a Man of sound Sense, himself bred to the Scotch Bar, where he had attained to Eminence, supported the Proposition.

This Doctrine, which, it must be confessed, was not to be found in "the Bill of Rights;" and which might, in its Effects, have proved subversive of the British Constitution; received, it is true, no direct Sanction from Pitt: but it did not the less provoke and produce from various Quarters, the severest Animadversion. Lord North observed, that "such a Discovery, if founded in Law, might well make every Man tremble for his Liberty. Those who maintained it, must however likewise assert, that the Army might be kept together without Discipline, and without Punishment; the first being only enforced, and the latter only inflicted, under the Mutiny Act." He concluded by reminding Ministers, "that notwithstanding the Money had been voted for the Payment of the Army; yet, until the Act specifically appropriating

“ it to that Branch of Service, had passed;
“ no Power or Right existed in Administra-
“ tion, to issue any Sum, however small, for
“ the Purpose.” Finally he warned them,
that “ as a Prorogation or Dissolution does
“ away every Vote of Supply, not previously
“ carried into an Act of Parliament; if
“ therefore the Minister should have Recourse
“ to such a Measure, the Votes of Army,
“ Navy, Ordnance, and Supply of every
“ Kind, must instantly be destroyed and fall
“ to the Ground.” No Answer was made
or attempted from the Treasury Bench, to
these Denunciations, which did not indeed
admit of any constitutional Reply; and only
served to shew the critical, as well as awful
Position of the Country, left without an
efficient Government, and apparently on the
Verge of a Suspension or Extinction of all
its Establishments.

Powis and Marsham, who commonly acted
in Concert, uniting their Efforts on this Oc-
casion, attacked the Minister in Language of
equal Energy and Acrimony. The former,
after expressing his Amazement at the King's
Answer, and wishing for Time to shed a
Tear over the expiring Dignity, and to regu-

late the Funeral Procession of the House of Commons; lamented that Administration appeared to be determined on prosecuting their mad Career, and on elevating Prerogative above Privilege. Marsham reiterated the same Sentiments, while he protested that no Act could be more remote from his Intention, than to delay the public Business, or to plunge the Country into Confusion. Rigby, who had been called on by the Attorney General, only a few Days before, to pay into the Exchequer, the large Balances of public Money remaining in his Hands;—a Demand of which he loudly complained, as harsh and illiberal, though he could not venture directly to oppose or resist it;—came forward once more very conspicuously in the Course of the Debate. With that blunt, bold, dictatorial, and coarse Style of Oratory, which always characterized him; but, of which, since the Extinction of Lord North's Government, he had exhibited comparatively few Specimens; he reprobated the *Audacity* of a Minister who presumed to remain in Office, with a Majority of the House of Commons against him: observing, that it was reserved for the present Days, to produce a Chancellor of the Exchequer, who

said to Parliament, " I care not for your Majority. The King has appointed me, and you have nothing to do with the Business." He finished by declaring, that his Blood boiled with Indignation, at the bare Mention of retaining an Army without a Mutiny Bill. Pitt did not condescend to notice these personal Sarcasms or Animadversions; which, he well knew, however they might operate within the Walls of the Assembly where they were pronounced, would produce no injurious Consequences to him among the People without Doors. On the Division for adjourning the Committee upon the Mutiny Bill, he was again left in a Minority of *nine*; the Numbers being 171 against 162; Fox still retaining his slender Possession of the House.

[8th March.] But, the Termination of this great Conflict, on which, not only England, but, all Europe had their Eyes fixed, and which had already lasted near eleven Weeks; to the Suspension of every kind of public Business, could not be longer protracted by any Efforts of Eloquence, or any Combinations of Faction. The King, in Terms of gracious, yet firm Determination, had twice

refused to comply with the Demand of a Majority of the lower House; and that Majority was become not less odious to the People, than it had proved itself hostile to the Crown or Administration. So unnatural a State of Things, carried in its Essence, the Seeds of its speedy Extinction. Fox, though apparently Master of the House, found himself unable to advance; and he could not remain stationary, or recede, without exposing his Party to Ridicule, while they were silently undermined, and diminished in Numbers, from Day to Day. His Embarrassments, which did not admit of Concealment, necessarily augmented the Confidence of his ministerial Adversaries. Nor did he attempt to disguise them, when the Consideration of His Majesty's Answer to the last Address, came before the House. In Terms of querulous Indignation, he stigmatized the Reply, as a Compound of Contradiction, Duplicity, Insult, and Violation of the British Constitution. Having attempted to justify and defend the Right of the Commons to demand the Removal of Ministers, without stating their Reasons, or assigning any specific Cause for such Dismission; he avowed that the only becoming

Measure now left, was to move a Resolution, that " whoever should advise his Majesty to continue his present Administration, was an Enemy to his Country." But, however disposed and desirous he might be to proceed to this Act, he was restrained by his Consciousness that he could not carry with him even a Majority of the most limited Description, if he made the Attempt. Many of his Adherents had already announced to him their Determination to proceed no further, accompanied with Menaces of withdrawing their Support, if he tried so desperate an Experiment. Thus situated, Fox stopped; and after loading Ministers with the bitterest Reproaches, for having, as he asserted, overset the Country, involved public Credit in remediless Confusion, suffered our foreign Concerns to run to Ruin, and incurred the Guilt of leaving our East Indian Possessions, a Prey to every Species of Enormity, Peculation, and Tyranny; he declared that it was not his Intention to stop the Supplies. While he charged Pitt with inordinate Ambition, as well as with having manifested a decided Aversion to political Union; he finished by only moving, not an Address, but, a *Representation* to the King.

It was long, expostulatory, argumentative, if not criminating; and recapitulated all the Points, on which the Crown and the Commons had so obstinately contended: but it contained no new Matter, except lamenting that "His Majesty's Advisers had not thought" "fit to suggest any farther Steps, for removing the Difficulties which impeded the" "Formation of an extended Administration."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer took little or no Part in the Debate which ensued on that Evening. Dundas, however, supplied his Place, with great Acuteness, Energy, and Severity. Retorting on the Opposition, all the Accusations brought forward by them, of pursuing a mad and desperate Career, to the Subversion of the Constitution, whose true Principles they outraged; he endeavoured to shew that Fox's Experience proved the Incapacity of the House of Commons itself, however powerful a Branch of the Legislature it might be, to enforce its own unconstitutional Resolutions. He treated the *Representation*, as a *Manifesto*, calculated to delude the Nation, by disguising the real Intention of Fox; which aimed at elevating the

Speaker's Mace above the Royal Sceptre; and giving virtually to the Representatives of the People, the Right of naming Ministers. Towards the Conclusion of his able Harangue, after vindicating Pitt from the Imputation of opposing a Union of Parties, if it could have been effected, on fair and honourable Principles; he alluded with great Force, though guardedly and hypothetically, to the well authenticated Lists of Peerages, Offices, and Emoluments, known to be promised to their Adherents, by the Opposition Leaders, who thus condescended to avail themselves of every Engine of Seduction or Corruption:—Engines, by which, it was obvious, the Country might be as completely enslaved, and the Constitution subverted, as by the worst Minion of the most wicked, or arbitrary Monarch! Seldom have I heard Dundas, during the Course of his long and brilliant Parliamentary Career, display more Ability or Eloquence, than on that Evening, which may in Fact be regarded as having terminated the Contest between Pitt and Fox; between the Crown, and a Majority in the House of Commons. “Why will not the Right Honorable Gentleman,” observed he, “insert

“ in his Manifesto, that *this House claims a*
“ *Right of putting a Negative on His Ma-*
“ *jesty's Appointment of Ministers, without*
“ *assigning any Reason?*—Because he knows
“ that such a Pretension might alarm the
“ Country, and then Counter-Declarations
“ might appear against it.”—“ But, let me
“ suppose for a Moment, that instead, as
“ the Constitution directs, of the Sovereign
“ naming and protecting Ministers, this As-
“ sembly should assume both those Privi-
“ leges; in that Case, a Combination of
“ Men might pay as servile Court to indivi-
“ dual Members of Parliament, as ever Mi-
“ nion did to a despotic Prince. If the
“ House exercise the Right of Nomination
“ and of Controul, any abandoned Faction,
“ commanding a Majority; by Artifice with-
“ in Doors, and by Corruption without;
“ by Promises of *Peerages, Places, and*
“ *Emoluments*, may so entrench themselves,
“ that if they can likewise name themselves
“ Ministers, the Country may be as com-
“ pletely subjected, and the Constitution as
“ totally overturned, as by the most able or
“ systematic Tyrant.”

This Mirror, though only held up as a Fic-

tion or a Hypothesis, reflected most distinctly to every Beholder, the Image of *the Coalition*. Fox made no Reply to Dundas; but, Burke, who, ever since the Rejection of "the East India Bill," as if overcome by his second Dismission from the Pay-Office, had scarcely once risen in the House, or taken his accustomed Share in the Discussions which arose within its Walls; made ample amends on that Night, for his preceding Silence. Though he spoke with great Animation, and with equal Eloquence, yet no Exertions could sustain a declining, as well as unpopular Party, or infuse Vigour into its component Members. Even the Subject of Controversy itself, agitated and exhausted by so many Repetitions, no longer inspired the same Interest; the greatest Ingenuity being scarcely able to suggest any new Ideas, or to strike out any fresh Matter of Argument. Uncommon Anxiety was manifested, and Impatience displayed, for the Division, which took Place about Midnight; when Fox's Majority became reduced to *one* solitary Vote, the Numbers on each Side considerably exceeding those on the Division of the 5th of March. Three Hundred and eighty-five Members were present, of whom 191 divided with Opposition, and 190 with Admi-

nistration. Great Exultation was expressed by the ministerial Side of the House, while corresponding Depression appeared on the opposite Benches, at so decisive a Proof of the approaching Fall of the *Coalition*.

[9th March.] The political Spell which had so long suspended and paralyzed all the Functions of Government, was now dissolved; and on the ensuing Day, the Mutiny Bill, no longer opposed, passed through the Committee. Fox, divested of that Control which he had exercised over the Assembly ever since it met in November, appeared there in Person; but, "shorn of his Beams:" nor can we consider the Discussions which subsequently arose on various Points, as other than mere Conversations, since no Division was ever again attempted by the Opposition, down to the Period of the Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliament. Yet, scarcely any Debate which took Place during the interesting Session under our Review, opened more curious Matter of Speculation or of Controversy, than the one that followed Fox's Defeat. Powis and Marsham, who had taken so conspicuous a Part throughout the whole Contest, appeared for the last Time on the Theatre. The former, in a

Speech replete with pointed Animadversions, and conceived with great Powers of Mind, endeavoured, while he justified himself from the Charge of Inconsistency in his Conduct, to throw on Pitt the Accusation of Duplicity or Insincerity, in his pretended Negotiation for forming an extended Administration. He admitted that the House of Commons and the Minister having engaged in a constitutional Contest, the former was conquered; "for though scarcely a Century had elapsed, since a Vote of the Commons could bestow a Crown, it could not in 1784, procure the Dismission of a Minister." Having related, with apparent Exactitude, the leading Points on which had hinged the Attempt to produce an Interview between the Duke of Portland and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; as the first indispensable Step towards a general Union; he hesitated not to declare, that "all the Concession was on one Side, while the Minister refused either Explanation, or the smallest Advance leading to Conciliation." Pitt made, it is true, a prompt, able, and animated Reply to this Imputation: but I will fairly own, that it impressed me as more rhetorical than solid, and carried with it no Conviction; though the Rea-

sons assigned by him for the Rupture of the proposed Conference, if not severely scrutinized, appeared specious and reasonable to the Ear.

I ought here to observe, that though Powis and Marsham seemed to perform equal Parts in this Portion of our History, and might be considered as joint Conductors of the St. Alban's-Tavern Meeting; no Comparison could be made between their respective Talents. Marsham was an ordinary Man, of good Intentions, and plain Sense, without Ornament or Decoration of any Kind. But, Powis possessed a classic and a cultivated Understanding, strong Feelings, a natural, ardent, and winning Command of Words, with much Discrimination of Character. Though in my Opinion, his Reverence for the House of Commons blinded him to such a Point, as to prevent him from perceiving or recognizing how Fox had converted that Assembly into a mere Engine of his Ambition; while Pitt really defended the Constitution against the House; —yet I do not on that Account consider Powis as entitled to less Respect under every Point of View. Some Parts of his Speech on the present Occasion, were of uncommon Beau-

ty, warm Colouring, and great Truth. I allude particularly to his Description of the *Forces* led on by the Minister, whom he divided into three Squadrons, having, each, their appropriate Characteristics. “ The “ first,” (whom I have mentioned already elsewhere,) said Powis, “ may be denominated his *Body Guard*, composed of “ light, young Troops, who discharge their “ little Arrows with no ordinary Dexterity, “ against all that refuse Allegiance to their “ Leader. The second is his Corps of *royal Volunteers*, the steady Champions of Pre- “ rogative, ever ready to attack those who “ presume to oppose Privilege against royal “ Authority. The last is his Legion of *Deserters*, attached to him by no other Tye “ or Principle than Interest; and who hav- “ ing deserted to him from that Motive, will “ quit him as soon as Fortune and Favour “ abandon him. Such, Mr. Speaker, is the “ Composition of the Army, which has “ vanquished this Assembly, and conquered “ the Constitution!” We must candidly admit that Powis was no common Orator; nor ought we to be surprized that such Parliamentary Talents raised him ultimately to the Peerage.

If, however, we admire his Description of the ministerial Forces, which was the Result of Premeditation, and may be regarded only as a Composition pronounced before the House of Commons;—how much more Admiration is excited by Pitt's Reply, made on the Instant, and delivered as soon as Powis sat down! After complimenting him on his versatile Facility of displaying equal Eloquence, on whichever Side he spoke, whether supporting or opposing Administration, Pitt proceeded to comment on Powis's Delineation of the Army ranged under his own Banner. Alluding to the first Corps, "who threw their little Arrows with so much Dexterity," he observed, "Probably, the Honorable Gentleman's Armour has not been Proof against the Darts of these Archers:—for, those little Weapons, which he affects to despise, appear to have galled him very severely. As to the Prerogative Volunteers, who form the second Band, I am proud of their Support, because Prerogative forms a Part of the Constitution, like the House of Commons; and is consequently an Object of my Veneration. But, why he should denominate the third Squadron, *Deserters*, I own myself at a

“ Loss to comprehend, merely because they
“ may not think proper to advance through
“ all the Stages of Faction; into which it
“ is attempted to precipitate this House.”
Having thus encouraged his own Troops, he
retorted on Powis, and endeavoured to shew
that no becoming Testimonies of a sincere
Desire to unite with the Duke of Portland,
and to form an united Administration, had
been omitted by him in his ministerial Ca-
pacity, during the Course of the late Nego-
tiations.

Those Persons who best knew the secret
Springs of Affairs, at the Period under our
Review, have, however, I believe, felt, and
some of them, have candidly avowed to me,
that the First Minister could not sincerely
desire, or even mean, to form a *Coalition*
with Fox. Nor, if he had wished it, can we
easily conceive on what Basis it could have
reposed, that offered a Prospect of Comple-
tion, and still less, of Duration. We must
suppose that Fox would have at least de-
manded the Treasury for the Duke of Port-
land, the foreign Office for himself, and
probably, the Admiralty for Lord Keppel.
Even though Lord North should have per-
sonally withdrawn his own Pretensions, yet,

some of his Connexions would necessarily have been admitted into the Cabinet. Does any Man imagine that Pitt, who had already attained in his own Person, to the Head of the Treasury and of the Exchequer;—an Eminence on which, during seventeen Years he stood firm, and from which he at last may be said to have voluntarily descended; would have retreated into the latter of those two Employments, merely to place the Duke of Portland in the former? His Ambition was not made for such moderate Limits. Still less can any Person conceive that Fox would have consented to Pitt's continuing to occupy his double financial Situation, and have taken Office, as Secretary of State, under him. How then was the Equipoise of Power to have been adjusted on "fair and equal Terms?" The Cabinet must have preponderated in Favour of one, or of the other Candidate for Power. And which of them would have submitted to become the Subordinate? When Lord North struck his Bargain with the Rockingham Party, he consented to act under them a secondary Part; receiving in Compensation, a Share of the ministerial Spoils, and obtaining from them Protection against Impeachment, for the Errors or Calamities of the American War.

The Motives therefore for his Conduct, were obvious, natural, venial, perhaps justifiable in every Sense. Lord North did not demand to be received among his New Allies, "on fair and equal Terms." He exacted only Indemnity, Oblivion, and a Participation of Offices. But, Pitt must have begun, like Sylla in Antiquity, or like Fairfax in our own History, by laying down his Power, at a Moment too when he had nearly consolidated its Tenure.

Other Motives for avoiding such a Connexion with Fox, would unquestionably suggest themselves to his Mind. The late Secretary of State no longer constituted an Object, either of popular Affection, or of Royal Apprehension. His own Imprudence, Ambition, and rapacious Policy, had precipitated him from his Elevation. Nor could the Minister have formed a Junction with the Colleague of Lord North, the Author in his own Person of the "East India Bill," without perhaps incurring some Degree of political Condemnation, if not of moral Contamination or Censure. Fox, indeed, might and undoubtedly would, have consented to modify that obnoxious Measure, in a Way to

render it harmless to the Constitution. But, Experience of the bitter Fruits produced by the late *Coalition*, held out no Encouragement to Pitt, for concluding a second similar Union. He stood moreover on far higher Ground than his Antagonist; combining at once the Favour of the Sovereign, the Attachment of the People, and the Command of the House of Peers. How is it to be supposed, that he would spontaneously descend from such a Situation, and consent to mingle his future Fortunes in some Measure with a Man, whose Line of public Action he had stigmatized with the severest Epithets; merely to conciliate the Suffrages of the Gentlemen who met at the St. Alban's Tavern? These Reflections may probably induce us to believe, that neither George the Third, nor his Minister, could really intend to replace Fox in any Degree, on the Eminence from which he had fallen; though during the Progress of a Contest, in which he remained, for many successive Weeks, Master of a Majority in the House of Commons, and before Matters were ripe for their Dissolution, Deference towards that Branch of the Legislature, dictated an apparent Compliance with their anxious Wishes.

Pitt, with great Dexterity, in the Course of his Reply to Powis, probably conscious that he could not altogether disprove, however he might deny or repel, the Charge of Insincerity, contrived to bring forward a counter Accusation against him and Marsham. To Both, he indirectly applied the Appellation of "a Spy," as having obtained by a pretended Impartiality, Access to the Secrets of the two contending Parties, while they enjoyed the Privileges and Immunities of Embassadors. They took Fire at the Term, as I doubt not, he intended they should; and after respectively vindicating themselves from so dishonourable an Imputation, Marsham read in his Place, the Letter addressed by the Duke of Portland to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It served fully to prove, that the Chief of the Opposition Party, as anxiously desired to commence a Negotiation with the First Minister, as the latter dexterously eluded and avoided a Conference. Marsham professed his own perfect Conviction of the Fact. So did Powis. "I never acted as a Spy," indignantly exclaimed Marsham; "and I make no Scruple of declaring my private Opinion, that "I did not perceive in the Minister, the same

“ conciliatory Spirit which was manifested “ by the Duke of Portland.” Powis entered into much more minute Details on the Subject, embracing the respective Demands or Preliminaries insisted on by both Parties, previous to actual Negotiation. Pitt exacted three Conditions. Lord North’s Exclusion from the Cabinet. A Renunciation of the objectionable Parts of the “ India Bill;” and an Interview with the Duke of Portland, “ on fair and equal Terms.” All these Points were promptly *conceded*. The *Coalition*, on their Part, equally demanded three Stipulations. First, Pitt’s virtual, though not actual, Resignation. Secondly, that the Duke might receive personally from His Majesty, the Message recommending an Interview. Lastly, that the Meaning of the Word “ equal,” might be defined or explained. But, all these Points Pitt *refused*. Nor would he listen to any Explanations on the Subject, which might facilitate the Accomplishment of the Object itself. Powis, after specifying every Particular, subjoined, “ Thus stood the Balance between the two “ Parties. One, ready to make every Con- “ cession : the other, none. But, why should “ a triumphant Minister make Concessions?”

Fox spoke with his usual Ability, though not in the commanding Tone that had characterized him, when conscious that he could dictate his Pleasure to an obsequious Majority. With more Bitterness than was natural to him, he felicitated his Rival on "having attained to something like a Majority to support him;" nor did he spare his severest Animadversions on those Individuals, who having hitherto voted with Opposition, had recently changed Sides, and joined the Administration. Fox concluded by pointing out the Delusion of Pitt's Proposition, to treat on "equal Terms," while he rejected the Offer made by the Duke of Portland, that the ministerial Arrangement should be conducted "with Attention to Principles of Equity and Fairness." There could remain no Doubt in the Mind of any impartial Person, that the Expressions "fair" and "equal," were in themselves ambiguous, and understood in different, or opposite Senses, by the two contending Parties. But, these Recriminations, however they might for a Moment agitate the Minds of Men in private Society, no longer impeded the Progress of public Business; the House voting

on the ensuing Evening, the Extraordinaries of the Navy, without a Division.

[11th March—22d.] It became indeed more and more apparent from Day to Day, that Pitt's Machinery being now nearly complete, a Dissolution of Parliament would not be long delayed. Yet, the Opposition still fondly indulged a Hope;—for, it did not amount to a Belief;—that, as no Act of Appropriation had passed, though the Supplies were voted, Ministers would not dare to apply the public Money to specific Purposes, contrary to all Precedent, if not to Law; and in direct Violation of the Prohibitions of the House. Various Attempts were made to sound the Minister on this delicate Point, but, without Effect. Fox took however no personal Part in them; and though he occasionally attended in his Place, I believe he hardly, if ever, spoke on any Subject, during the last eleven or Twelve Days that Parliament continued in Existence. Burke remained equally mute; while Powis and Marsham, engaged in Preparations for an approaching general Election, disappeared altogether from a Scene, where they had recently performed the principal

Characters. The little Degree of Opposition experienced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, arose from the Adherents of Lord North, or was made by that Nobleman himself. Sir Grey Cooper, when the Order of the Day was moved, for going into a Committee of Supply, on the Estimates for the Extraordinaries of the Army; conscious that it offered the last Occasion which would present itself, for protesting against a Dissolution; expatiated with considerable Energy, on the Infraction of the Constitution that would arise from such a Measure. He at the same Time warned the Ministers, that “to issue Money for the Pay of the Forces, contrary to a Resolution of the House, declaring such a Proceeding to be a high Crime and Misdemeanour, and without any Appropriation Act,” was not only illegal, but, a Subversion of the very Tenure by which the King held his Crown; a Vote of Parliament. No Answer whatever was returned to these Denunciations, from the Treasury Bench; but, the Supply being voted in the Committee, without any Division taking Place, the House adjourned to the following Day.

[23d March.] As the immediate Dissolu-

tion of Parliament, had now become Matter of universal Notoriety, and Preparations for carrying it into Effect, were already making in the Public Offices; a considerable Attendance was produced in the lower House, by Curiosity to witness its Extinction, rather than by any other Motive. The First Minister appearing in his Place, was assailed from various Quarters, on the Question being put by the Speaker, that "the Report on the Army Extraordinaries should be read a first Time." Mr. Eden led the Way, and was followed by Lord North, as well as by General Conway. While each of them avowed that they considered themselves as addressing for the last Time, an Assembly, which they knew was on the Point of being dissolved; they did not remonstrate or menace in less animated Terms, on the Supposition that such a Measure should be actually carried into Execution. Every Argument adduced in the preceding Debate, was reiterated, pressed, and urged with augmented Force of Language. The Chancellor of the Exchequer remaining nevertheless contumeliously silent, the Report was read: but, on a Motion being made for the second Reading, Lord North once more rose; and after some

Expostulations relative to the contemptuous Treatment experienced by the House upon the present Occasion, demanded, "on what Principle of Law, on what Doctrine respecting the Constitution, on what Argument, or on what Authority, when Parliament should be dissolved, would Ministers presume to issue Money for the Subsistence of the Army?"

Pitt had not however advanced so far, to be now deterred from consummating his Triumph, by the impotent Threats of a powerless and exhausted, as well as an unpopular Faction. He cut the Knot, which he was unable to untye; and declining any Discussion of those great constitutional Points which he could not solve, and the Infraction of which, he could not abstractedly justify; confidently trusted his Cause to the universal Sentiment of national Approbation, for covering any Deviation from Parliamentary Usage. Like *Iago*, who in Reply to every Enquiry, answers,

"Ask me no Questions: what you know, you know;"

he briefly observed, that "Gentlemen might make whatever Speeches they chose, and

“ the House might act as it thought proper ;
“ he would not say one Word upon the
“ Subject.” The Report being then read a
second Time, the House adjourned, and was
summoned on the following Day, to attend
the House of Peers ; where the King having
prorogued the Parliament, after pronouncing
a short, but, judicious Speech from the
Throne, well calculated for the Emergency,
stated it to be a “ Duty which he owed to
“ the Constitution and the Country, under
“ its actual Circumstances, to recur as spee-
“ dily as possible, to the Sense of his People,
“ by convoking a new Parliament.” A Dis-
solution followed within twenty-four Hours ;
and the *Coalition*, confounded, as well as
overwhelmed, amidst the Storm which they
had injudiciously excited, disappeared in an
Instant, leaving the Fragments of their poli-
tical Greatness scattered in all Directions.

[25th March.] I have related these Events,
as they passed under my own Eyes, with
the most rigid Impartiality. And if I have
dwelt minutely on the Transactions or De-
bates that took place in the House of Com-
mons, during the Contest between Fox and
Pitt ; it must be remembered, that within

the Walls of that Assembly, the History and the very Existence of the Country, were concentrated during more than three Months. We would vainly seek them elsewhere. All the Functions of Government stood still : while the Sovereign, the Peers, and the Nation looked on, expecting the Issue of so extraordinary a Conflict, which must necessarily impress a new Character on the opening Year. Never did any King of Great Britain contend for so vast a Stake, since Charles the First ! In contemplating the Scene, Mr. Pitt arrests our first Attention.

Nothing in the Annals of this Country, subsequent to the Accession of the House of Brunswick, bore any Analogy to his Position. When we consider that he struggled against a Majority of the House of Commons, conducted by such Talents as those of Fox, from the 19th of December, 1783, up to the 9th of March, 1784 ; on any Day of which Interval, he might possibly have been impeached ; and if we reflect that he vanquished so vast a Combination of Party, without prematurely recurring to a Dissolution, till all his necessary Arrangements of every Kind

were completed, and the whole Nation had declared on his Side; we shall probably admit that, as no such Instance occurs before him, no similar Example will probably ever be again exhibited. If, in Compliance with Lord Temple's Opinion, he had begun by dissolving the Parliament as soon as he was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, in December, 1783; when the People at large, and when even the Inhabitants of London, as well as of Westminster, were imperfectly informed on the Nature and Tendency of "the East India Bill"; it is possible that a very different Result might have been the Consequence.

Fox's Defeat arose from one fundamental Error or Miscalculation, into which he was nevertheless led by the Experience of all Parliamentary Contest; namely, that a Majority of the House of Commons, could compel the Crown to dismiss its Ministers, or could oblige the Ministers themselves to give in their own Resignation. In his Hands, this constitutional Weapon, hitherto irresistible, lost its Edge, and became harmless. He affected to attribute its Failure, to a

Spirit of Delusion, which, as he asserted, and as his Adherents maintained, had incapacitated the British People to distinguish Truth from Error, Imposture from Reality. There is, however, no Sophistry capable of blinding completely a whole Nation, upon Points so level to every Understanding; and if there existed any Delusion in the Estimate formed by the Country, respecting the Nature and Tendency of "the East India Bill," the Delusion still survives at this Day, in all its Force. But, there existed another Delusion into which Fox himself fell, when he erroneously conceived, that a Majority of the lower House, in whatever Manner acquired, and whatever Measures or Objects it might pursue, must necessarily dictate its Pleasure to the Sovereign, to the House of Peers, and to the Public. The two former would, indeed, if unsupported by the Body of the People of England, have been found only Dust in the Balance, when engaged in a Struggle with the genuine Representatives of that People, the real Organs of their Will and Opinion. Charles the First, and James the Second, each, made the Experiment; by which the former lost his Head, and the

latter, his Crown. But, George the Third, neither attempted to exercise oppressive and antiquated, if not illegal, Prerogatives ; nor to impose on us a Religion prohibited by Law, and odious to his Subjects. And never did the British Constitution manifest its latent Energies so strongly, as in the very Act of arresting that Assembly, which, calling itself the Representatives of the Nation, became in the Instance before us, the Instruments of the Ambition of a Faction, or rather, of an Individual.

The Steadiness, the Principles, and the Repugnance of the King towards the *Coalition*, operated as powerful secondary Agents; but they were not primary Causes. Fox, attentive only to the three Branches of the Constitution, which he considered as omnipotent, regarded as null the Nation itself. But, when awakened, roused, and informed, the People hurled him in an Instant from his Situation. For, it was not the Dissolution of Parliament, which would have reduced him and his Party to Insignificance, if the public Opinion and Confidence had accompanied him. Of this Truth, a great Example

was exhibited in 1780, when Lord North dissolved the Parliament. The Government was not idle on the Occasion, and a large Sum was believed to have been expended in Endeavours to procure favourable Returns to the new House of Commons. Yet, so unpopular was the Sovereign at that Time, so weak the Administration, and so odious the American War, that the First Minister derived little permanent Strength or Advantage from the Measure. He held out with Difficulty for one Session, and surrendered early in the next, on the 20th of March, 1782. Fox on the contrary remained for several Years, only an illustrious Victim of his inordinate Ambition, seated on the Opposition Bench; till the memorable Malady of his Majesty in 1788, recalled him for a Moment into Day, only to plunge him deservedly anew into greater political Depression.

The Obligations which the King owed to Pitt, for liberating him from the Chains of the *Coalition*, at the Time when they were about to have been rivetted, were certainly of the first Magnitude. No other Subject

in his Dominions, would probably have attempted, but, assuredly no other Individual would have successfully performed, so important and arduous a Service. After witnessing the Formation and Extinction of three Administrations, within the Space of little more than twenty Months, George the Third beheld in Prospect, domestic Tranquillity, personal Freedom, and national Prosperity. Nor were these the only Benefits that resulted to him, from the Events that we have related. All the Errors and Misfortunes of his Reign, seemed to be swallowed up and forgotten in the Grave of the *Coalition*. The Odium of Lord Bute's Ministry, and the Peace of 1763, aggravated by the Prosecution of Wilkes;—the humiliating Negotiation and Compromise relative to the Falkland Islands, which *Junius* had consigned to perpetual Reprobation;—lastly, the Disgraces of the American War, followed by the Loss of an Empire beyond the Atlantic, for which national Defalcation of Power and Territory, the King was regarded by a large Portion of his Subjects, as peculiarly responsible;—the accumulated Evils of three and twenty Years, disappeared at

once, and were obliterated. Only the Virtues of the Sovereign seemed to survive in the Memory of his People. The same Prince, who, in March, 1782, labored under a Load of Prejudice and Unpopularity ; was considered in March, 1784, as the Guardian of the Constitution, worthy the warmest Testimonies of Affection, Gratitude, and Respect. They poured in upon him from all Quarters, acknowledging the Blessings of his paternal Government, and approving the recent Interference of his Prerogative, for the Destruction of an unprincipled Faction. Wilkes, who had been among the most ardent Opposers of "the East India Bill," and among the foremost Supporters of Pitt in Parliament, as Member for Middlesex ; re-appeared at St. James's, where he met with the most gracious Reception. A new Order of Events, and a new *Æra*, seemed to commence from this auspicious Date. In Fact, if we would point out the Period of Time, from the Commencement of this long, as well as eventful Reign, during which the Sovereign and the Country equally enjoyed most Tranquillity, as well as Felicity ; we should not hesitate to name the Interval, comprizing about four Years and

a half, that succeeded Pitt's Triumph over Fox, in the Spring of 1784, down to the King's severe Seizure in the Autumn of 1788. Here, therefore, as at a Political Land-mark, I shall conclude the Third Part of the Historical Memoirs of my own Time.

ADDENDA.

MANUSCRIPT NOTES OF MRS. H. L. PIOZZI.

VOL. I.

Page 53, last line. So different it is to paint mere manners, or to depict general nature; but Johnson said, that Fielding gave us the husk of life in his books, while Richardson picked out the kernel.

Page 67, l. 7. I wonder Wraxall, in all this gossip, forbears to tell how Dr. Goldsmith said once to Lord Shelburne, "Why do the people persist so in calling your Lordship Malagrida? I am told Malagrida was *a very honest man!*"

Page 161, l. 22. He [Johnson] has dined with him [Wilkes] very often; and they used to laugh together at the Scotch. Johnson says, in some of his letters, that he "passed some evening, I forget when, cracking jokes with Jack Wilkes against the Scotch." It was at Dilly's: and Wilkes hearing our old philosopher loud at the other end of the room, "What is he talking there in praise of?" said he.—"Of Liberty," one answered.—"Liberty!" replies

VOL. III.

3 G 2

ADDENDA.

Wilkes, " why, the word sounds as ridiculous in *his* mouth, as religion would in mine."

Page 305, l. 12. All this is strange to *me*, who have seen letters from the Electress Sophia to my own great-grandfather, Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton, who was kept by King James the Second in the Tower, for having had Correspondence with her *Serenity*. He had my grandpapa with him there, a little boy—*his* portrait is at Streatham Park now ; and the last Baronet, Sir Robert Salusbury Cotton, father of this Lord Combermere, burned the letters : of which I remember only that they were full of Latin quotations, and that she signed her name with a long *s*, *sophia*. This last Sir Robert S. Cotton was first cousin to her who writes these notes, July 1815.

H. L. Piozzi.

Page 307, l. 14. It was certainly very odd that the Princess never made George the First learn English when he was Duke of Cambridge, and, I believe, prayed for as heir to the Crown,—very surprising, sure !

Ibid. l. 23. The poor *Pretender*, when I saw him at Florence, was under the care of a natural daughter of his,—not very young : who took the wine from him if he drank too much, and the words out of his mouth if he talked too much. It was melancholy to see the man.—La Duchesse D'Albani wore the Garter round her neck, a diamond George and cross pendant from it, I remember.

ADDENDA.

Page 316, l. 16. Not meaning Miss Ashe, I should think. She must have been too old to be offspring of Rodney, *sure*; yet I know no one else the writer can mean. Miss Ash was always supposed the Princess's daughter, but I never heard by whom.

Page 317, l. 25. Learned, as Lord Glenbervie told *me*, by studying an old edition of Plutarch's Lives, wherein are delineated the orders of battle exhibited in the ancient contests at Leuctra and Mantinea; and now, they say, Buonaparte wins all his battles by this manœuvre.

Page 320, l. 2. So he [Lord Lyttelton] did; but the warning was given in *London*. He called on his uncle there, and told him of it. His uncle reproved him, and scouted the story,—of a *little bird*—no dove—teizing him about his bed-curtains, and when he waked to drive it away, changing to a female figure, who said, “Prepare to die, my Lord! you'll soon be called!”—“*How* soon?” cried he, “within three years? hah!”—“Three years!” repeated the figure tauntingly, “three *days*!” and vanished. This tale he told Lord Sandys; who said, “If you do really believe this strange thing, and would have *me* believe it, I counsel you to change your rakish life; but I suppose it is one of your fine imaginative whims, told but to make us stare.” Lyttelton was a fellow of no veracity; his companions never credited anything merely because he said it.

Ibid l. 25. So he [Lord Lyttelton] did; and the

ADDENDA.

women, Mrs. Flood and two Miss Amphlets at least, came to town at five in the morning, looking like ghosts themselves.

Page 321, last line. He [Lord Lyttelton] was *not* in bed; he was reading at a table, and sitting on the bed, with books, preparing for his speech on the next day to be delivered in the House of Lords. He fell forward, and the table gave way. Williams found all on the floor together. He cried, "Speak, my lord! speak, my *dear* lord!" but in vain.

Page 322, l. 25—27. That I did *not* know. She [Miss Lyttelton] was daughter to Lord Westcote, an *intimate* of Mr. Thrale's; and who was *no* credulous man at all, scarcely a sound believer. He told my husband the story himself; his nephew told it *him*. All London heard the tale. He told it to everybody himself; most circumstantially, of course, to his valet, Williams. But a Welsh lady, being at the play, heard Captain Ayscough tell it in the box, two nights before the death of my Lord Lyttelton.

Page 413. He [George the Third] was deeply enamoured of Lady Sarah Lenox, who married Sir Charles Bunbury, and many, many years after, married Mr. Napier. The Duke of Richmond never forgave Lord Bute hindering his sister from being queen — of course; and said, that Wilkes ought to be encouraged, if it was only because he acted as a *thorn in the King's side*.

ADDENDA.

Page 420, l. 17. [Lady Archibald Hamilton] mother of poor dear old Mr. Hamilton, who died here [Bath] in the Circus a *very* few years ago. *He* was father to Lady Aldborough, yet living, and to Jane Holman, lately dead. Prince Frederic was his god-father. I loved Jane Holman sincerely.

Page 428, l. 2. Her Letters are proofs of her truth, her tenderness, her plain sense; but wholly unadorned by literature. I mean Queen Mary's.

Page 467, l. 21. Hamilton had none [lineal representatives] that he owned. He once told me that he was the nineteenth child of his *father and mother*, and that neither he, nor any of his brothers and sisters, had living and *legal* issue: I mean *legitimate*.

Page 493, l. 9. His [Lord North's] odd revenge on Burke should have been mentioned. The orator was inveighing against him while he slept, or appeared to sleep, till one language being insufficient for his abuse of such a minister, Burke, quoting Latin against him, pronounced the word "*Vēctīgal*," as here accentuated. "*Vēctīgal*!" said Lord North, and slept again.

Page 542, l. 10. Thurlow, enraged one day at dinner with his butler, cried "Go to hell! Go to the devil;—to the *devil*, I say."—"Give me a character, my lord," replies the arch fellow; "gentlemen like to have a character from *an acquaintance*."

ADDENDA.

Page 544, l. 6. He [Lord Chancellor King] told my grandmother that they put him apprentice to a grocer ; “ but,” says he, “ my lady, I could never abide the shop after I had done eating the plums.”

Page 546, l. 21. He [Mr. Jenkinson] was *to me* a very particularly agreeable man as a converser ; unaffectedly good-humoured, and pleasant in his voice and manner—though eminently ugly, long and lean—with strange sort of eyes, oddly thrown up, or cast down ; but never looking like the eyes of any other man.

Page 555. Wallace was a coarse man with a provincial dialect — his wife was amiable.—Wedderburn was charming ; but then he was all over affection, and had beautiful eyes ; and I liked Jenkinson better.

VOL. II.

Page 252, l. 25. So he [Rumbold] was, and what is much more surprising, he had the air and look of a man of quality. Very strange, surely, in a black-shoe-boy, for such he was, at starting.

Page 330, l. 22. By no means *disinterested* : he [Dr. Moore] was sure to get preferment from the duke, and only a life-annuity from the duchess,—to whom he probably preferred some other woman. It was prudent management of good fortune, but by no means a proof of disinterestedness.

ADDENDA.

Page 338, l. 17. The character of George the Third was uniformly moral, and uniformly discreet. He was what we call a steady boy in early youth. A confidential friend, and natural son, indeed, of one of my uncles, was about the court in Leicester Fields, when Prince Frederic of Wales died: he told my mother the following story:—"The princess was sitting one day of her early widowhood pensive and melancholy, her two eldest sons playing about the room. 'Brother,' said the second boy, 'when you and I are *men grown*, you shall be married, and I will keep a mistress.'—"Be quiet, Eddy,' replies the present King, 'we shall have anger presently for your nonsense. There must be no mistresses at all.'—"What you say?" cries old Augusta; 'you more need learn your pronouns as the preceptor bid you do. Can you tell vat is a pronoun?'—"Yes, very well,' replies Prince Edward: 'a pronoun is to a noun what a mistress is to a wife,—a substitute and a representative.'"

Page 355. [Mr. Thomas Pitt.] A finical lady-like man. He married Miss Anne Wilkinson, a rich merchant's daughter, and was father by her to the mad Lord Camelford. The other sister, poor soul! married Lord George Sackville's Smith, as they called him, and was by him mother to the hero, Sir Sydney Smith.

INDEX.

A.

Abingdon, Willoughby Bertie, fourth Earl of, his reflections on Mr. Fox, iii. 593.
 Acton, Chevalier, his improvements in the Neapolitan Navy, i. 259.
 Adam, Mr. Treasurer of the Ordnance, his parliamentary eloquence, ii. 565; his attack upon Fox, 566.
 Aiguillon, Duke d', money entrusted to his care for the support of Madame du Barry, i. 111.
 Albany, Louisa Countess d', character of, i. 311; her marriage with the Pretender, *ib.*; her reception in London, 313.
 Alcantara, royal carriages kept at, i. 24; aqueduct in, 66.
 Alfieri, Count, his attendance upon the Countess d'Albany, i. 305.
 Alphonso VI. King of Portugal, character of, i. 61; deposed, 62; imprisoned at Cintra, 63; his death, 64.
 Althorpe, George John Lord, afterwards Earl Spencer, remarks respecting him, iii. 160.
 America, attempt to tax the colonies of, ii. 112; discovered from England, 429; Congress of, refuses to negotiate with Great Britain, iii. 39; negotiations for peace between Great Britain and, 198; emancipated from Great Britain, 213.
 American Government, remarks respecting, ii. 380.
 ———— treaty, effects of, on Great Britain, iii. 278; character of, 305.
 ———— war, remarks respecting, ii. 113. 115. 118. 376. 408. 423. 451. 521.
 Amherst, Jeffery first Lord, his cha-

racter and personal appearance, ii. 192; his victories in America, *ib.*; his reserved disposition, 194.
 Anson, Commodore, notice of his expedition round Cape Horn, iii. 204.
 Aqueduct of Alcantara, constructed by John V. i. 66.
 Aranda, Count d', Spanish ambassador at Paris, his instructions, iii. 238.
 Arden, Mr. appointed solicitor-general, character of him, iii. 617; his political talents, *ib.*
 Arnold, Gen. remarks on his appearance at Court, ii. 535.
 Ashburnham, John Earl of, groom of the stole, remarks respecting, iii. 72.
 Ashburton, John Dunning first Lord, see *Dunning*.
 Atkinson, Mr. assertion respecting, ii. 361. 368.
 Aubigné, M. d', anecdote in the "Memoirs of his own Life," i. 251.
 Augusta Caroline, Princess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, married to the Prince of Wirtemberg, i. 212; her mysterious death, 213. 219. 220.
 Augusta Elizabeth, Princess of Tour and Taxis, her supposed execution, i. 273.
 Aveiro, Duke d', his conspiracy to assassinate King Joseph I. i. 25; execution, 30.

B.

Bahama Islands, Spanish expedition against, iii. 201.
 Banbury, inhabitants of, their address to the king, iii. 751.
 Banks, Mr. member for Corfe Castle, his allusion to the proposed session of Gibraltar to Spain, iii. 232.

- Barbara, Princess, afterwards Queen of Spain, her marriage with Ferdinand Prince of Asturias, i. 73; her taste for music, 75; death, 76.
- Barré, Col. his charges against Lord North, ii. 132; his talents as a speaker, 281; his opinion of Mr. Necker, 282; moves to nominate commissioners of accounts for the House of Commons from its own members, 401; appointed treasurer of the navy, iii. 17; pension granted to, 164; his speech respecting, 166; appointed clerk of the pells in the Exchequer, 694.
- Barrington, Admiral, repulses d'Estaing at St. Lucie, i. 383.
- Barry, Countess du, her influence with Louis XV. i. 107. 108; provision for her, 110.
- Basset, Sir Francis, afterwards Lord Dunstanville, his exertions to increase the provision for Lord Rodney, iii. 133.
- Bateman, Lord, character of, iii. 36.
- Bathurst, Allen, raised to the peerage by Queen Anne, ii. 202; Pope's allusion to, *ib.*
- Henry second Earl his character as Lord Chancellor, ii. 203.
- Battistini, Mr. his theatrical talents, i. 14.
- Beauclerk, Mr. his remarks respecting Dr. Johnson, i. 153; his intimacy with Mr. Fox, ii. 259.
- Bedford, Francis Russell eighth Duke of, Junius's accusations against, ii. 66.
- Bembridge, Mr. accusations against, iii. 417; restored to his situation in the Pay Office, *ib.*; his trial, 430; sentenced to a fine and imprisonment, 431.
- Bengal, Court of, committee appointed to examine the state and abuses of, ii. 381.
- Berkeley, Lady Betty, see *Germain, Lady Betty*.
- Berwick, Duke of, placed at the head of the French forces on the Rhine, in 1734, i. 97.
- Beyra, Prince of, married to Donna Maria Benedicti, i. 40; his personal appearance, 42; death, 43.
- Bill— for reforming the civil list, brought forward by Mr. Burke, ii. 265;—for the reform of the king's household, introduced by Burke, 333; rejected, 335;—for the reduction of the civil list, introduced by Burke, iii. 43; plan of, 45; remarks respecting, 50. 52. 54;—for preventing contractors sitting in parliament, introduced by Mr. Jennings Clerke, 47;—for excluding officers of the excise and customs from voting at elections, introduced by Mr. Crewe, *ib.*;—for preventing bribery at elections, introduced by Lord Mahon, 137;—for the regulation of appointments in the West Indies and America, 150;—for the regulation of the pay office, introduced by Burke, 432;—for establishing regulations in public offices, introduced by Pitt, 454.
- Bolton, Henry Paulet last Duke of, appointed governor of the Isle of Wight, iii. 21.
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, remarks respecting, i. 103; on his projected invasion of England, ii. 317.
- Boothby, Mr. his opinion of Mr. Fox, ii. 239.
- Boscawen, Mrs. character of, i. 161; her account of Lord Bute's first introduction to Frederick Prince of Wales, ii. 60.
- Boufflers, Marchioness de, mistress of the Duke of Lorraine, i. 91.
- Bourbon, Duke of, his proposals for Louis XV.'s marriage, i. 81; demands an English princess, 83; banished to Chantilly, 87.
- Boyd, Hugh Macauley, supposed author of "Junius's Letters," ii. 94.
- Braddock, Gen. defeated in Carolina, ii. 59.
- Braganza, Duke, see *John IV.*
- family of, remarks respecting, i. 60.
- Brazil, Princess of, character of, i. 36.
- Bristol, George fifth Earl of, anecdote respecting, i. 135.
- Brunswick family, singular circumstances respecting, i. 222.
- Prince Ferdinand of, his military talents, i. 183; his connexion with the Illuminés, 184, 185; his accusation against Lord George Germain, ii. 174; his popularity, 175; charges against, 176.
- Prince Louis of, his popu-

- larity in Holland, i. 181; character, *ib.*; notice of his death, 183.
- Brunswick Blanckenberg, Princess Charlotte Christina of, remarks respecting her death, i. 222.
- Lunenburgh, Princess Caroline Matilda of, *see* *Caroline Queen of Denmark*.
- Wolfenbottle, Princess Elizabeth of, notice of her imprisonment at Stettin, i. 223.
- Zell, Princess Sophia of, notice of her imprisonment, i. 222.
- Buckhurst, Lord Treasurer, remarks respecting him, iii. 506.
- Lord, *see* *Dorset*.
- Burgoyne, Gen. description of him, ii. 292; aspersions upon his character, 293; his interview with Fox, 294; his opinion of Lord George Germain, 295; his invectives against the corruption of Parliament, 391; supports the marriage bill, 417; his animadversions on the king and Lord George Germain, 462; his opinion of the American war, 463; sent as commander-in-chief in Ireland, iii. 21; supports the East India Bill, 583.
- Burke, Mr. i. 159; his conduct on the riots of 1780, 359; accuses government of neglect in not supplying the garrison of Gibraltar with gunpowder, ii. 164; his extraordinary talents, 264; his exertions in bringing forward the bill for the reform of the civil list, 265; his opinion of M. Necker, 266; his condemnation of the American war, 267; remarks on his parliamentary conduct, 269; his connexion with Earl Verney, 270; his oratory, 271; anecdotes of him, 273; his ridicule of Lord North, 274; his correspondence with Dr. Franklin, 275; his Irish accent, 277; his temper, 278; comparisons between him and Fox, 280; his speech respecting Sir H. Palliser's appointment as governor of Greenwich Hospital, 331; his bill for the reform of the king's household, 333; his opinion of Mr. William Pitt, 342; his comparison between Lord North and M. Necker, 362; anecdote of, 380; moves an inquiry into the treatment of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius, ii. 398; his opinion of the marriage bill, 418; his remarks on the state of the country, 441; on the folly of taxing America, 444; his opinion of the proposed address to the king, 450; his comparison respecting Mr. Welbore Ellis, 513; his attack upon his speech, 515; his opinion of the loan proposed by Lord North, 525; objects to the postponement of the taxes, 554; his description of the state of the nation, 555; ridicules Lord North, 556; his attack upon Mr. Welbore Ellis, 563; his speech on Lord North's resignation, 604; appointed paymaster, iii. 17; introduces his bill for the reduction of the civil list, 43; his plan for the proposed reduction, 45; remarks on his bill, 50. 52; his own opinion of it, 53; his remarks respecting Rodney, 116; his encomiums on the Marquis of Rockingham, 147; his regret on relinquishing his office, 154; assertions respecting, 155; his declamations against Lord Shelburne, 179; against Gen. Conway, *ib.*; ridicules the king's speech, 219; reproved by Lord North, 225; his comparison respecting ministers, 231; his opinion of the proposed cession of Gibraltar to Spain, 234; remarks on his speeches, 301; his reproof of Mr. Duncombe, 328; resumes his offices of paymaster, and secretary of the treasury, 385; Goldsmith's assertion respecting, 412; remarks on his restoration of Powell and Bembridge to their situations, 417; his defence, 423. 427; his exertions in favour of Bembridge, 431; his bill for the regulation of the pay-office, 432; accusations against him, *ib.*; his remarks on the king's speech, 455; his allusions to Pitt, 457; his views respecting India, 524; draws up a bill respecting, 525; his speeches on the East India bill, 552. 566. 568; his character of Fox, 569; his remarks on the corruption of parliament, 675. 679; on Mr. Thomas Pitt's elevation to the peerage, 692; remarks on his dejection, 747.
- Bussy, M. commander of the French

- forces at Cuddalore, proclaims the cessation of arms, iii. 495.
- Bute, John Stuart first Marquis, George III.'s partiality for, ii. 43; attacks upon him, 45; account of his first introduction to Frederick Prince of Wales, 60; his talents, 63; his character, 64; his administration, 65; resigns, 66; accusations against him, 66. 68; remarks on his relinquishment of office, 71; reports respecting, 72; his visits to the Princess Dowager of Wales, 73; his desire to resume political power, 74; remarks on his conclusion of the treaty of Fontainebleau, 76.
- Byng, Admiral, notice of his execution, ii. 58.
- George, member for Middlesex, his speech respecting the loan borrowed by Lord North, ii. 360; his three motions respecting, 363; speech on the list of subscribers to the loan, 370.
- Byron, Admiral, account of, i. 320; his action off Grenada, 322; recalled to England, 323.
- C.
- Calabria, Duke of, remarks respecting his imbecility, i. 245.
- Camden, Charles Pratt first Lord, order of the garter, conferred upon i. 129; Junius's letter to, ii. 306; his parliamentary character, 310; as lord chief justice of common pleas, 311.
- Camões, remarks respecting him, i. 52.
- Canterbury, Archbishops of, see *Cornwallis*, *Hon. Dr. Frederick*, and *Moore, Dr.*
- Carleton, Sir Guy, sent to America, to declare the independence of the colonies, iii. 39.
- Carmarthen, Francis Godolphin Osborne Marquis of, objects to Lord George Germain's elevation to the peerage, ii. 496.
- Carnatic war, committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the, ii. 38.
- Caroline, Queen of Naples, Archduchess of Austria, united to Ferdinand IV, King of Naples, i. 249 character of, 261.
- Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark, notice of her imprisonment and death at Zell, i. 224.
- Queen of England, character of, ii. 56.
- Carvalho, Sebastian Joseph, Marquis de Pombal, his influence with King Joseph I, i. 22; account of him, 66; his unpopularity, 67; his improvements in Lisbon, 70.
- Catherine II, Empress of Russia, her friendship for Sir Thos. Wroughton, i. 189; her intrigue to entrap the supposed daughter of the Empress Elizabeth, 192. 198; extenuation of her conduct, 203; injurious reports respecting, 204; invites the Prince of Wirtemberg into her service, 216; her partiality for the princess, 217; banishes her to the Castle of Lhode, 219; informs the prince of her death, *ib.*; remarks on her conduct, 220; her alliance with Joseph II, 286; unites with the Baltic powers against England, ii. 4; comparison between her reign and that of George III, 266.
- Cavendish, Lord John, character of, ii. 289; appointed chancellor of the exchequer, iii. 11; his resignation, 173. 178; moves an amendment on the subject of the American treaty, 264; encomiums on him, 312; justifies Fox's union with Lord North, 313; appointed chancellor of the exchequer, 378; Fox's influence with, 380; his proposed loan, 395. 445; general esteem for, 447; his opinion of the Prince of Wales's proposed income, 465; Fox's reproof of, 477.
- Chandos, Duchess of, remark of, ii. 11.
- Chantilly, Mademoiselle, (Madame Favart) rejects Marshal Saxe's overtures, i. 99.
- Charles Anselm, Prince of Tour and Taxis, separated from his wife, i. 274.
- Chartres, Duke de, remarks respecting, i. 124; accusations against him, 125.
- Charles Edward, Prince (the Pretender), remarks respecting, i. 302; amount of his income, 303; his personal appearance, 307; his debilitated state, i. 307; his in-

- ebriety, i. 309 ; seeks refuge at Florence, 310.
- Charles I, King of England, comparison between him and King George III, i. 13 ; his insincerity, 16.
- Charles III, King of Spain, his desire to re-annex Gibraltar to Spain, iii. 235.
- Chesterfield, Philip Stanhope fifth Earl of, anecdote of, ii. 20.
- Choiseul, Duke de, his proposal to attempt the restoration of the Stuart line, i. 309.
- Chudleigh, Miss, afterwards Duchess of Kingston, her repartee to the Princess Dowager of Wales, ii. 73 ; her allusion to Lord Thurlow, 200.
- Churchill, John first Duke of Marlborough, created Prince of Mildenheim, i. 285.
- Lady Mary, her intimacy with the Duke of Lorraine, i. 91 ; her account of his death, 92.
- the poet, his allusion to Lord Sandwich in his poem of the Candidate, ii. 183 ; his description of Wedderburn, 308.
- Clarendon, Edward Hyde first Earl of, accusation against, ii. 69.
- Clement XIV. Pope, refuses Prince Charles Edward the public honours at Rome, i. 303.
- Clerke, Sir Philip Jennings, his assertion respecting Mr. Atkinson, ii. 361 ; introduces the bill to prevent contractors sitting in parliament, 375 ; iii. 47.
- Clinton, Sir Henry, appointed to command the army in America, ii. 119.
- Coke, Mr. Daniel Parker, member for Nottingham, moves the thanks of the House to Lord Cornwallis and Sir Henry Clinton, i. 379 ; his attack upon ministers, iii. 90 ; upon the pension granted to Col. Barré, 165 ; his opinion of delegates, 298 ; moves to petition the king to form an administration, 364.
- Coligny, Henrietta, literary entertainments given by, i. 169.
- Commons, House of, remarks respecting the great change in, iii. 26 ; comparison respecting, 84 ; personality of debate in, 713 ; presents an address to the king, 766.
- Conway, Gen., character of, ii. 290 ; introduces a motion to petition the king " to renounce any attempt to reduce America by force," ii. 512 ; his address to Mr. Welbore Ellis, 573 ; reminds Dundas and Rigby of the declarations respecting the American war, 526 ; moves an address to the king, to terminate the American war, 534 ; proposes a vote of thanks to the king, 537 ; his defence of Earl Shelburne, iii. 175.
- Coote, Sir Eyre, commander of the army on the Coromandel coast, his death, iii. 527.
- Cooper, Sir Grey, his speech on the estimate for supplying the army, iii. 805.
- Cornwall, Mr. chosen speaker of the House of Commons, i. 373 ; his talents, 374 ; allusion to in " The Rolliad," 375.
- Cornwallis, Charles first Marquis, remarks respecting, i. 380 ; his victory over the Americans at North Carolina, ii. 407. 423 ; establishes himself at York Town, 428 ; his surrender, 429, 439. 481.
- Hon. Dr. Frederick, Archbishop of Canterbury, his death, iii. 347.
- Corsica, island of, annexed to France, ii. 104.
- Courtenay, Mr. one of the members for Tamworth, character of, ii. 352 ; his reply to Sheridan's reproof, 354 ; his speech respecting the marriage bill, 418 ; his opinion of the American war, 451 ; his speech on the resignation of ministers, 605 ; his remarks on Lord Shelburne's selection of Pitt, iii. 223.
- Cowper, George Nassau Clavering third Earl, created a prince of the German empire, i. 285.
- Countess, the Grand-duke Leopold's attachment to, i. 285.
- Cranston, Lord, his account of Rodney's engagement with de Grasse, iii. 107.
- Crewe, Mr. afterwards Lord, introduces a bill for excluding officers of the excise and customs from voting at elections, ii. 375, iii. 47.
- Crown Jewels, anecdote respecting, iii. 187.
- Cumberland, William Augustus third Duke of, his conversation with George III, i. 7.

Cunningham, Gen. James, governor of Barbadoes, his account of the hurricane of 1780, i. 368.

Cust, Sir John, his talents as speaker, i. 374.

D.

Dalrymple, Sir John, his statement respecting the Princess Sophia, i. 313.

Darby, Admiral, sent to relieve Gibraltar, ii. 164; succeeds in his object, 427.

Dartmouth, William Legge second Earl of, appointed Lord Steward, iii. 381.

Dashwood, Sir Francis, afterwards Lord le Despenser, founds the Society of the Franciscans, ii. 253.

Delaval, Sir John, afterwards Lord, his eulogiums on Lord North, ii. 605; his speech on the Prince of Wales's attendance in the House of Commons, iii. 711.

Derby, Edward 22nd Earl of, his defence of, Fox, iii. 182.

Devonshire, William Cavendish fifth Duke of, order of the garter conferred upon, iii. 71.

——— Duchess of, her partiality for Dr. Johnson's conversation, i. 163; her alarm on the riots in London in 1780, 342.

Dick, Sir John, British consul at Leghorn, his account of the seizure of the supposed Princess of Tarakanoff, i. 193. 197; remarks respecting him, 200.

Digby, Admiral, sent to America to declare the independence of the colonies, iii. 39.

Dodington, Mr. his opinion of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, ii. 176.

Dolben, Sir William, his opinion of associations and delegates, ii. 395; refuses to support the motion for the dismissal of Lord Sandwich, 511; declares his intention of supporting administration, 532; his opinion of Lord North, 587; his remarks respecting him, iii. 372.

Dorset, Edward eighth Earl of, remarks respecting him, iii. 506.

——— Charles tenth Earl of, character of, iii. 507; his marriages,

508; refuses a dukedom, 509; his imbecility, 510.

Dorset, Lionel Cranfield Sackville first Duke of (Lord Buckhurst), anecdotes of, iii. 511. 513; accompanies George I. to England, 515; informs the Prince of Wales of his death, 516. 519.

——— John Frederick Sackville third duke of, Marie Antoinette's observations to, i. 28; appointed ambassador to Paris, iii. 614; character of, 615; Marie Antoinette's esteem for, 616.

Draper, Sir William, Junius's attack upon him, ii. 91.

Duncan, Admiral Lord, notice of his victory off Camperdown, iii. 105.

Duncombe, Mr. one of the representatives for York; his petition for more equal representation in parliament, iii. 328; refuses to support Lord North, *ib.*

Dundas, Mr. Lord Advocate of Scotland, afterwards Lord Melville, his opinion of Lord North, ii. 142; character of, 221; his speeches, 222; his intimacy with Rigby, 224; his opinion of Mr. Pitt, 457. 458; his allusion to Lord George Germain, 474; imputations against him, 520; his retort upon Burke, 570; his inquiries of Fox, 571; his reply to Fox's animadversions upon Lord North's administration, iii. 41; his reports respecting the East India Company's affairs, 75; his remarks on the conduct of Mr. Hastings, 76; supports Lord North's administration, 101; his political capacities, 103; disapproves of the proposed address to the king respecting Rodney, 123. 124; his encomiums on Mr. Orde, 162; appointed treasurer of the navy, 163; his remarks on Fox's coalition with Lord North, 267; remarks on his appointment, as keeper of the signet in Scotland, 341; his reply, 342; approves of the proposed Parliamentary Reform, 400; his speech respecting Mr. William Pitt, 410; his encomiums on him, 411; his reply to Fox's imputations against administration, 422; his speech respecting the proposed address to the king, 449;

- his proposition respecting the Land Tax, iii. 609; solicits the place of lord warden of the cinque ports for Mr. William Pitt, 653; his accusations against opposition, 788; his vindication of Pitt, 789.
- Dunning, Mr. his personal defects, ii. 283; his abilities, 285; his union with Barré, *ib.*; his opinion of associations, 397; remarks respecting him, 530; created Lord Ashburton, iii. 12; appointed chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 16; his opinion of delegates, 298; his proposition for diminishing the influence of the crown, 301; his death, 499.
- Dutch war, debates respecting, ii. 255.
- E.
- Earthquakes in Lisbon, i. 17. 50. 57.
- East India Company, secret committee to enquire into the affairs of the, iii. 75.
- East India Bill introduced by Fox, iii. 538; plan of, 540; debates on, 543. 548. 554; passes the Commons, 558; attacks upon it, 578; the king's disapprobation of, 589; rejected by the Lords, 590. 598; alterations in, 721; introduced by Pitt, 719.
- Eden, Mr. Lord Sandwich's letter to, ii. 181; his speech on the state of Ireland, iii. 29; moves to bring in a bill respecting, *ib.*; refuses to withdraw his request, 32; disproves of the American treaty, 252; enters his protest respecting, 253.
- Effingham, Thomas Howard third Earl of, accused of favouring the rioters of 1780, i. 361.
- Ellis, Mr. Welbore, anecdote respecting, ii. 127; character of, 219; appointed to succeed Lord George Germain, as secretary of state, 490; remarks on his capabilities, *ib.* 512; Burke's comparison respecting, 513; difficulties of his situation, 514; his speech, 515; Powis's remarks respecting him, 560; his reply, 563.
- Eliot, Dr. created a baronet, ii. 163; his marriage with Lady Harriet Pitt, iii. 161; his elevation to the peerage, 693.
- Elliott, Gen. defeats the Spanish floating batteries, iii. 209. 216; one of the commissioners appointed to administer the East India Company's affairs, 546.
- Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, remarks respecting, i. 188.
- England, takes possession of the Falkland Islands, ii. 105; discontent in, 120.
- Princess Royal of, married to the Prince of Wirtemberg, i. 214. 221.
- English navy in 1779, i. 322; party and faction in, iii. 110; remarks respecting, 210.
- Erskine, Mr. afterwards Lord, character of, i. 160; supports the East India Bill, iii. 581; remarks on his speech, 582.
- Eustatius, St. debate respecting the capture of the island of, ii. 164.
- F.
- Falkland Island, annexed to England, ii. 105; remarks respecting, 106.
- Falmouth, Hugh Boscawen third Viscount, his death, ii. 490; anecdote of, *ib.* 492.
- Farinelli, his influence with Ferdinand VI, i. 76.
- Favart, Madame, see *Chantilly*.
- Felkeshheim, Count de, character of, i. 225; story related by, 227.
- Ferdinand IV. King of Naples, his partiality for Sir William Hamilton, i. 239; determines to remain at peace with England, 240; his personal appearance, *ib.*; character of, 241. 243; his neglected education, 244; his grief for the death of the Archduchess Josepha, his intended wife, 247; his marriage with the Archduchess Caroline, 249; anecdotes respecting him, 250. 255; his partiality for wrestling, 254; for hunting, 257; his affection for his people, 259; for his queen, 361.
- Ferdinand VI. Prince of the Asturias, afterwards King of Spain, his marriage, i. 73; his taste for music, 75; his death, 76.
- Fielding, Mr. his grave at Lisbon, i. 54; remarks on his productions, 55.
- Fitzpatrick, Col. his opinion of the

- riots of 1780, ii. 357; negotiates the coalition between Fox and Lord North, iii. 261; appointed secretary at war, 386; character of, *ib.*
- Fitzwilliam, William Wentworth second Earl, appointed one of the commissioners for the administration of the East India Company's affairs, iii. 545; his character of Pitt, 765.
- Fletcher, Sir Henry, one of the representatives for Cumberland, appointed one of the commissioners to administer the East India Company's affairs, iii. 546.
- Fleury, Bishop of Frejus, his influence with Louis XV. i. 77; remarks on his administration, 87; his decease, 95.
- Flood, Mr Henry, his speech on the East India bill, iii. 687.
- Florence, interesting antiquities in, i. 280; prosperity of, under the government of the Grand Duke Leopold, 283.
- Fountainbleau, remarks respecting, ii. 76.
- Fox, Chas. James, remarks respecting, i. 5. 293; his conduct respecting the riots in 1780, 359; his opinion of Sir Hugh Palliser's nomination to the governorship of Greenwich Hospital, 376; his insinuations against Lord George Germain, 377; his remarks respecting Lord North, ii. 132; respecting Lord George Germain, 164; respecting Lord Sandwich, 189; his opinion of Lord Thurlow, 197; notice of his union with Lord North, 198; his remarks respecting him, 208; his esteem for Mr. Rigby, 215; his personal appearance, 228; his neglect of dress, 229; his descent, 230; his travels, 233; Junius's remarks respecting him, 234; his amusements, 235; his propensity for gaming, 237; opinions of him, 239; his historical productions, 240; his poverty, 241, 242; Rigby's speech respecting him, 242; his excesses, 247; his rural amusements, 248; his friends, 249; his conduct to Mrs. Hobart, 250; his speech on the debate respecting the Dutch war, 255; his comparison between Henry VI. and Geo. III, ii. 257; his knowledge of the classics, 259; anecdote of him, 260; his poetic talents, 261; comparison between him and Burke, 280; his interview with General Burgoyne, 294; his reprobation of Wedderburn, 309; censures administration for appointing Sir Hugh Palliser governor of Greenwich Hospital, 321; his allusion to Admiral Keppel's election for Surrey, 322; his assertion respecting Sir Hugh Palliser's resignation of his employments, 323; Johnstone's charges against him, 327; his opinion of Mr. Pitt, 343; his popularity, 350; his speech respecting the loan borrowed by Lord North, 360; respecting the right to act as delegates, 392; advises peace with the American colonies, 405; his reproof of Rigby, 412; his opinion of Dundas, 413; of the first Earl of Chatham, *ib.*; his conversation with Dr. Franklin, 414; his opinion of the marriage act, 417; his comments upon Commodore Johnstone, 420; his imputations against administration, 422; accuses ministers of being in the pay of France, 441; objects to sending an address to the king, 442; his attempt to stop the supplies for the American war, 452; remarks on his conduct, 454; his personal imputations against George III, 455; against Lord Sandwich, 478; moves an inquiry into his conduct, 486. 502. 509; his attack upon Jenkinson's speech, 517; remarks on his imprudent expressions, 518; attempts to induce Dundas to vote for the termination of the American war, 520; his opinion of Lord North's proposed loan, 523; disapproves of the king's reply to the address from the Commons, 538; his ridicule of Lord North's protestations, *ib.*; his remarks on the termination of the American war, 540; his speech on the proposed truce with the American colonies, 548; remarks on it, 550; Adam's attack upon him, 566; his political opinions, 568, 569; his reply to Dundas, 572; his apology to Lord North, 586; his speech on

his resignation, 602; remarks on his brilliant prospects, iii. 6; named one of the secretaries of state, 11; his opinion of the public right to demand interest on the balances of money retained by the accountants, 19; reproves Mr. Eden for his motion respecting Ireland, 30; his speech on the affairs of Ireland, 36; his correspondence with the Russian minister respecting Holland, 39; his declamations against Lord North's administration, 41; his speech on the bill for reducing the civil list, 44; respecting Lord North, 64. 77; his condemnation of the preceding ministry, 79; his pecuniary embarrassments, 87; his reply to Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, 90; his speech respecting Ireland, 92; moves to repeal the act declaring the dependence of Ireland on Great Britain, 93; his desire for public approbation, 96; moves the thanks of the House to Sir George Rodney, 109. 121; accusations against him, 117; his speech respecting his recall, 126. 130; remarks on his selection of Pigot to replace Sir George Rodney, 134; predicts a change of administration, 135; his speech respecting the bill for preventing bribery at elections, 137; respecting the inquiry into the balance of money in the hands of public accountants, 140; his conduct on the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, *ib.*; his eulogium on him, 147; his speech on the bill for regulating appointments in America, 151; his private circumstances, 153. 154; remarks on his resignation, 157; his reply to Bamber Gascoyne, 169; his accusations against Lord Shelburne, 170. 172. 174; his inconsistent character, 171; his reason for resigning his secretaryship, 173; Pitt's accusations against, 176; comparison between the conduct of him and Pitt, 177; insinuations against him, 182; convokes his constituents, 200; his remarks on Lord Shelburne's declarations, 221; on the proposed cession of Gibraltar to Spain, 232. 237; his attempt to compel the production of the provi-

sional treaty with America, iii. 238; his opinion of the American treaty, 252; Lord Shelburne's overtures to, 254; his reply to them, 255; account of his coalition with Lord North, 260; animadversions on his conduct, 267; his reply to them, 270; his speech respecting delegates, 299; respecting peace with America, 306; general opinions respecting his union with Lord North, 308. 314. 376; his allusion to the coalition, 315; Lord North's encomiums on him, 326; the king's opinion of him, 339; his remarks on Lord Thurlow, 340; on Mr. Townsend's elevation to the peerage, 341; his reply to Mr. Dundas, 342; his opinions on the state of the country, 355; offers to receive Pitt into the coalition, 362; his speech respecting Jenkinson's influence with the king, 368; his justification of his union with Lord North, 373; appointed secretary for foreign affairs, 378; his influence in the Treasury, 379; with the ministers, 380; his opinion of Lord Cavendish's proposed loan, 396; his reply to Pitt's imputations, 397. 398; remarks on his ministerial career, 411; his speech on the restoration of Powell and Bembridge to their situations, 418. 420; his defence of Burke, 433; his advice to him, 434; comparison between him and Pitt, 448; his opinion of the proposed income for the Prince of Wales, 465. 467; of the bill compelling public accountants to deliver up their balances, 473; his accusations against Pitt, 476; his influence in government, 478; his political character, 482; attempts to ingratiate himself in the esteem of the king, 483; conversation respecting him, 484; his attention to his parliamentary duties, 485; attempts to secure his tenure of office, 519; comparisons respecting his popularity, 520. 521; respecting his coalition with Lord North, 523; his views in India, 524; his India Bill, 525. 539. 541; solicits the order of the garter for Mr. Beilby Thompson, 527; his conversation with the king re-

- specting, iii. 530 ; his influence with the Prince of Wales, 535 ; his speech on the treaties of peace, 537 ; on his India bill, 550, 554 ; carries the bill to the Lords, 558 ; comparisons respecting him, 552, 563 ; Powis's reflections on him, 565 ; Burke's character of, 569 ; his reply to Mr. Thomas Pitt, 571 ; allusions to Jenkinson, 573 ; to Pitt, 574 ; Wilkes's reflections upon him, 577 ; Sir Richard Hill's comparison concerning, 580 ; his defence of the bill, 586 ; reflections upon him, 594 ; his accusations against the king, 598 ; his speech on the bill, 602, 604 ; delivers up the seals of his office, 606 ; his speech on the proposed dissolution, 623 ; Lord North's eulogiums on, 627 ; his unpopularity, 631 ; his classical knowledge, 644 ; comparison between his oratory and Pitt's, 647 ; his conduct respecting the Regency, 657 ; his attachment to Miss Pulteney, 660 ; his want of moral deportment, 661 ; caricatures respecting him, 691 ; his influence in the Commons, 695 ; his charges against Pitt, 699 ; his remarks on the Prince of Wales's attendance in the Commons, 717 ; on Pitt's East India Bill, 719 ; moves for leave to re-introduce his East India Bill, 720 ; his alterations in it, 721 ; remarks on his conduct to Pitt, 727 ; plan to procure a reconciliation between him and Pitt, 729, 731 ; his attachment to the opposition bench, 734 ; charges against him, 745 ; moves an adjournment, 753 ; conduct of the inhabitants of Westminster towards, 759 ; remarks on his declining influence, 762 ; Pitt's reflections on him, 774, 776 ; delays the progress of the mutiny bill, 781 ; his embarrassed situation, 786 ; his remarks on Pitt, 803 ; cause of his defeat 810 ; his delusions, 811.
- Fox, Sir Stephen, reports respecting him, ii. 230. See *Holland, Lord*.
- France, notice of the peace between England and, ii. 17.
- Francis, Prince of Tuscany, afterwards Emperor of Austria, his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth of Wirtemberg, i. 216.
- Francis, Sir Philip, opinions respecting his being the author of "Junius's Letters," ii. 103. n.
- Franciscans, society of, founded by Sir Francis Dashwood, ii. 253.
- Franklin, Dr. notice of his correspondence with Burke, ii. 275 ; his conversation with Mr. Fox, 414 ; his attempts to emancipate America from Great Britain, iii. 213.
- Fraser, Mr. under secretary of state, his remarks on George II.'s blindness, ii. 54.
- Frederick William I, King of Prussia, his reception of Paul, Grand-duke of Russia, i. 208 ; anecdote of, 209 ; his interview with the Emperor Leopold, at Pilnitz, 291 ; his negotiations with the Emperor Leopold, 294 ; his dislike of England, ii. 3.
- G.
- Galloway, Lord, accusations against him, iii. 714 ; anecdote of, 715.
- Gascoyne, Bamber, his attack upon the pension granted to Col. Barré, iii. 167 ; his speech respecting associations, 296 ; confusion in consequence, 297.
- Gaston John, remarks respecting, i. 281.
- George I. King of England, remarks respecting, ii. 35, 36 ; his partiality for Dr. Younger, iii. 60 ; grief for his supposed death, 61 ; his conversation with Lord Dorset, 515 ; his death, 516.
- George II, King of England, his dislike of Lord Temple, i. 128 ; remarks respecting, ii. 36, 46, 47, 53 ; character of, 55 ; his opinion respecting Lord George Germain, 175 ; account of his accession, iii. 516.
- George III, Sir Nathaniel Wraxall's opinion of, i. 2 ; character of, 8 ; his objection to confer the garter upon Lord Camden, 129 ; consents to his daughter's marriage with the Prince of Wirtemberg, 221 ; his unpopu-

larity, 320. ii. 38; his firmness during the riots in 1780, i. 347. 355, 356; Junius's reflections upon him, 357; refuses his permission for Sir Fletcher Norton's re-election as speaker, 373; his temperance, 5; remarks respecting him, 6; his tendency to corpulency, 7; his levees, 9; remarks on his reign, 11; comparison between him and Charles I, 12; his warrant to take Wilkes into custody, 15; his fidelity to his engagements, 16; his reception of Mr. Adams, the American envoy, 17; his conduct on the signing of the preliminaries of peace with France, *ib.*; his attention to his coronation oath, 19; prepares for the installation of the knights of the garter, 20; his education 22. 24; his taste for the arts and sciences, 26; his personal courage, 28; attempt to assassinate him, 29; threatening letters sent to, 30; his attachment to Pitt, 32; remarks respecting him, *ib.*; compared to George the First and Second, 34; his partiality for Lady Sarah Lennox, 37; his secluded life previous to his accession, 39; Junius's remarks respecting, 40; reports respecting him, 42; his attachment to Lord Bute, 43; his personal resemblance to Lord North, 49; his unpopularity through signing the treaty of Fontainebleau, 78; his firmness during the riots in 1769, 82; Junius's letter to, 85; his remark respecting him, 88; prejudices against him, 111; his opinion of the right to tax America, *ib.*; his firmness during the American war, 123; his personal dislike of Dr. Eliot, 162; comparisons between his reign and that of Catherine II, 256; between him and Henry VI, 257; remarks on his conduct towards Fox, 262; esteem of his subjects for him, 317; regrets the hostilities with Holland, 319; bill for reforming his household, 333. 339; visits Admiral Parker at the Nore, 425; verses respecting him, 426; his letter respecting the surrender of the British forces at York Town, 439; his firmness, 440; Fox's imputations against him, 455; raises

Lord George Germain to the peerage, ii. 495; his reply to the petition from the Commons, 535; refuses to accept Lord North's resignation, 595; regrets his retirement from office, iii. 2; his conference with the Earl of Shelburne, 7; with the Marquis of Rockingham, 8; places him at the head of the Ministry, *ib.*; his preference of Lord Shelburne, 9; raises Dunning to the peerage, 12; creates Sir Fletcher Norton Lord Grantley, 15; his friendship for Lord Bateman, 36; confers the order of the garter upon his third son Prince William Henry, 71; petitioned to recal Sir Elijah Impey from Bengal, 77; prorogues the parliament, 187; his speech on the re-opening of the session, 218; Burke's ridicule of, 219; his conduct on Lord Shelburne's resignation, 337; his opinion of Fox, 339; his interview with the Duke of Portland and Lord North, 346; offers the archbishopric of Canterbury to Dr. Hurd, 347; to Dr. Louth, 348; his projected visit to his electoral dominions, 353; petitioned to form an administration, 354. 366; his reply, *ib.*; sends for the Duke of Portland, 374; his contest against the *Coalition*, 375; his conversation with the Duke of Portland, 377; his esteem for Gen. Sir John Irwine, 442; his donations to him, 443; his determination respecting the Prince of Wales's proposed income, 465; his coolness to ministers, 481; conversation concerning Fox, 484; his dejection, 488; his wish to visit Hanover, 489; refuses to create British Peers, 490; bill respecting India presented to, 526; refuses to confer the order of the garter on Mr. Beilby Thompson, 529. 531; disapproves of the East India bill, 589; remarks on his conduct, 596; his determination respecting the India bill, 597; desires Lord North and Fox to resign, 606; forms a new administration, 612; receives an address from the citizens of London, 719; refuses to dismiss ministers, 752; receives an address

- from the Commons, 767. 771. 779; his replies, 767. 777. 780; his opinion of Powis, 794; dissolves parliament, 808; his obligations to Mr. Pitt, 812; his popularity in 1784, 815.
- Germain, Lord George, afterwards first Viscount Sackville, barricades his residence in the riots of 1780, i. 347; his reply to Fox's insinuations against him, 377; supposed author of "*Junius's Letters*," ii. 90; his attachment to George III. 91; remarks on his abilities, 157; his personal appearance, 158; his conversation, 159; his education, 160; procures the rank of a baronet for Dr. Eliot, 163; attacks upon him, *ib.*; his oratory, 167; his illustrious extraction, 168; his conduct at the battle of Minden, 171. 178; tried by a court-martial, 175; his duel with Governor Johnstone, 177; 178; Gen. Burgoyne's opinion of, 295; objects to an inquiry into the treatment of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius, 399; his uneasiness respecting the American war, 433; informs Lord North of the surrender of the British at York Town, 434; his speech respecting the American war, 464; his reply to Mr. Byng, 465; to Mr. Townsend's accusations, 469; offers to resign, 477; account of his elevation to the peerage, 494; created Lord Sackville, 495; debates respecting his admission to the house of peers, 497. 499; anecdote respecting, 500; his opinion of the loss of America, iii. 289; account of his succession to the estate of Drayton, 500; his account of the Sackvilles, 506; his birth, 514; Pitt's application to, 683; supports him during the East India bill, 689.
- , Sir John, account of him, iii. 500.
- Lady Betty, (Lady Betty Berkeley,) her marriage with Sir John Germain, iii. 503; Sir John's advice to, 504.
- Gibbon, Mr. his "*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*," ii. 460; member for Lymington, 461; supports administration on the motion for terminating the American war, 590; notice of his retirement to Geneva, iii. 54.
- Gibraltar, besieged by the Spaniards, ii. 164; iii. 208. 210; debates respecting the proposed cession of, to Spain, 235.
- "Glorieux," commanded by the Hon. Capt. Cadogan, disappearance of, iii. 205.
- Glover, Mr. author of "*Leonidas*," assertions respecting his being the author of "*Junius's Letters*," ii. 96; refuted, 97; remarks in his "*Memoirs*," iii. 666.
- Goldsmith, Mr. his remarks concerning Burke, iii. 412.
- Gordon, Lord George, favours the riots of 1780, i. 363; indignation against him, *ib.*; attempts to disperse the rioters, 365; character of, 366; notice of his imprisonment in Newgate, 367.
- Sir William, his mission to the French court, ii. 108. 109.
- Gower, Granville Leveson second Earl, office of first lord of the treasury offered to, iii. 344.
- Grafton, Augustus Henry third Duke of, his treatment of Mr. Wilkes, ii. 81; receives a letter from him, 93; Junius's remarks respecting him, 85; their effect upon him, 86; his resignation, 87.
- Grantham, Thomas Robinson second Lord, appointed foreign secretary, iii. 160; pension granted to, 340.
- Grantley, Lord, see Norton, Sir Fletcher.
- Grasse, Admiral de, his engagement with Admiral Rodney, iii. 107; delivers his sword to Lord Cranston, *ib.*; his complaints respecting his officers, 113; public indignation against, 114.
- Graves, Admiral, accusations against him, iii. 206.
- Greatrakes, Mr. William, private secretary to the Earl of Shelburne, accused of composing "*Junius's Letters*," ii. 95.
- Gregory, Mr. his character, ii. 387; his independence, 388; appointed one of the commissioners to administer the East India Company's affairs, iii. 546.

Grenada, surrendered to the French, i. 322.

Grenville, George, his attempt to tax the American colonies, ii. 112.

—— Thomas, his mission to Paris, iii. 39.

—— William, his speech on the East India bill, iii. 548.

Greville, Hon. Charles, resigns his office of treasurer of the household, iii. 619.

Grosvenor, Mr. his motion to unite administration, iii. 737.

Guilford, Frederick, eighth Earl of, see *North, Lord*.

H.

Hadfield, attempts the life of George III. ii. 29.

Hamilton, Hon. William Gerard, supposed author of "*Junius's Letters*," ii. 99.

—— Sir William, his remarks respecting Grand-duke Paul, of Russia, i. 210; his personal appearance, 234; character, 235; performs the *Tarantella*, 237; the King of Naples' partiality for, 239; his remarks respecting him, 243. 254; his opinion of the kingdom of Naples, 261.

—— Lady, informed of Lord Nelson's victory over the Danes, i. 236; performs the *Tarantella*, 237; stories related by, 263. 264.

—— Lady Archibald, Frederick Prince of Wales's attachment to, ii. 50.

Harley, Alderman, anecdote respecting, ii. 272.

Harrison, Mr. one of the members for Grimaby, his speech respecting the *king's friends*, ii. 218.

Hartley, Mr. member for Hull, signs a treaty with America, iii. 490; length of his speeches, 491. 493.

Hastings, Warren, Governor-general of Bengal, remarks on his conduct, iii. 76; his promptitude after Hyder Ally's invasion of the Carnatic, 285.

Hawke, Sir Edward, his character as first lord of the admiralty, ii. 186; remarks respecting him, 187.

Hawkebury, Lord, signs the preliminaries of peace with France, ii. 17. See *Jenkinson*.

"*Heroic Epistle to Sir William Chambers*," remarks respecting Fox in, ii. 236; respecting Lord North's administration, 377; verses respecting George III. in, 426.

Hertford, Francis Seymour Conway seventeenth Earl of, remarks respecting, iii. 36; appointed lord chamberlain, 381.

Hill, Dr. Lord Bute's liberality to, ii. 64.

—— Sir Richard, member for Shropshire, his comparison respecting Fox's junction with Lord North, iii. 329. 580; his remarks on the Prince of Wales's attendance in the house of commons, 710; character of, 712;

Hillsborough, Wills first Earl of, character of, ii. 155.

Hinchinbroke, Lord, appointed master of the buck hounds, iii. 385.

Hippolito de Medicis, Cardinal, dispensed from his ecclesiastical vows, i. 281; his marriage, 282; death, *ib*.

Hobart, Mrs. afterwards Countess of Buckinghamshire, Mr. Fox's treatment of, ii. 260.

Hohen, Mr. his losses at the capture of St. Eustatius, iii. 679.

Holland, Stadtholders of, i. 176; war declared against, by the British, 387; remarks respecting, 389; commencement of hostilities between England and, ii. 319; refuses the negotiations with Great Britain, iii. 39.

—— Stephen Fox, second Lord, his talents, ii. 231; his unpopularity, 232; his death, 240.

Holroyd, Col. created Lord Sheffield, his courageous conduct at the riots in 1780, i. 351.

Home, John, Lord Bute's liberality to, ii. 64.

Hood, Sir Samuel, captures two French line-of-battle ships, iii. 200.

Howe, Admiral Sir William, afterwards Lord, recalled from the command in America, ii. 119; character of, 287; his oratorical talents, 288; prevents a junction of the Dutch squadron with the French and Spanish fleets, iii. 80; relieves Gibraltar, 211. 216; appointed first lord of the admiralty, 246; restored to the head of the admiralty, 613.

- Howard, Sir George, his amendment to the vote of thanks to Gen. Elliott, iii. 237.
- Hubert, Mr. Henry, afterwards Earl of Carnarvon, his indignation against Lord George Gordon, i. 363.
- Hurd, Dr. Bishop of Worcester, refuses the archbishopric of Canterbury, iii. 347.
- Hurricane in the West Indies, i. 367.
- Hussey, Mr. member for Salisbury, his opinion of the loan raised by Lord North, ii. 361; his speech relative to public abuses, iii. 462.
- Hyder Ally, his invasion of the Carnatic, ii. 382; driven from Madras, iii. 216; his death, 493; his successes, 496; anecdote of him, 497; his character, 498; cause of his death, *ib.*

I.

- Illuminés, society of the, i. 184; impression made by, in Dresden, 225.
- Inglefield, Mr. his account of the fate of the Centaur, iii. 204.
- Impey, Sir Elijah, remarks on his conduct as chief justice of Bengal, iii. 75.
- Ireland, requires a renunciation of parliamentary supremacy on the part of Great Britain, iii. 92.
- Irwine, Gen. Sir John, character of, iii. 439; entertainment given by, to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, 440; decorated with the order of the Bath, 441; anecdote of him, 442; his pecuniary difficulties, 443; receives donations from the king, *ib.*; his residence at Parma, 444; death, *ib.*
- Lady, pension granted to, iii. 445.

J.

- Jackson, Mr. Richard, his general information, iii. 161.
- James, Sir William, his death, iii. 659; account of him, 660.
- Jenkinson, Charles, afterwards Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool, accusations against, ii. 110, 206; his character as secretary at war, 206; his reported influence with Geo. III. 207; his personal appearance, 209; his education, 210; his parliamentary talents, 211; his speech respecting the American war, 516; Fox's attack upon it, 517; his justification of administration, 562; his speech on the East India bill, iii. 549; Fox's allusion to him, 573. See *Hawkesbury*.
- Jervis, Sir John, raised to the dignity of Earl St. Vincent, iii. 119.
- Jesuits, number of imprisoned in the Castle of St. Julien, in 1772, i. 68.
- John IV. king of Portugal, remarks respecting, i. 60.
- V. king of Portugal, character of, i. 64; erects a palace at Maffra, 64.
- Johnson, Dr. his opinion of the "Essay on Shakspeare," i. 147; remarks respecting him, 150. 151; his compositions, 152; reason for his not cultivating his poetical talents, 153; opinions respecting him, 154; his talent as a biographer, 155; his prejudices, 166; his opinion of King George III. ii. 10; his desire to obtain a seat in parliament, 590.
- Johnstone, Capt. George, character of, ii. 324; his remarks respecting Admiral Keppel, 325. 327; respecting Fox, 327; comments upon his action at Praya Bay, 420; his speech respecting Sir George Rodney, iii. 125; animosity between him and Fox, 132; his attack upon him, 141; declaims against the American treaty, 269; his encomiums on Lord Thurlow, 358; his opinion of Lord North's union with Fox, 371; of Lord Cavendish's proposed loan, 395; of the grant to the Prince of Wales, 468. 470; on Fox's proposed East India bill, 538. 633. 701. 746.
- Jones, Sir William, remarks on his poetry, ii. 378.
- Joseph I. King of Portugal, character of, i. 11; his taste for music, 12; his dread of earthquakes, 18; his annual visit to the palace of Salva Tierra, 19; his political capacity,

- i. 21; improvement of the Portuguese under his government, 22; his revenues, 23; attempt to assassinate him, 25. 28. 29. 33; his partiality for bull feasts, 45; his visits to the Italian Opera at Lisbon, 49; his predilection for the Count de Prado, 50; remarks on his reign, 71.
- Joseph II. Emperor of Austria, anecdote respecting, i. 255; his conduct in Naples, 256; remarks on his reign, 285; his military incapacity, 286; his alliance with Catherine II. *ib.*; his imprudence, 289; his death, 288.
- Joseph, Archduchess, her death, i. 246.
- Junius, his reflections upon King George III. i. 357; his opinion of King Charles I. ii. 16; his comparison respecting George III. 40; his "Letter to the King," 45; his accusations against the Duke of Bedford, 66; his "Address to the Printer of the Public Advertiser," 84; his "Letter to the King," 85; suppositions respecting the author, 87. 89. 90. 92. 94. 95. 96. 97. 99. 103; his attack upon Sir William Draper, 91; supposed reason for his secrecy, 100; his remarks respecting Lord North, 126; respecting the *king's friends*, 217; his letter to the Duke of Grafton, 234; his description of Gen. Burgoyne, 293; his remarks respecting the Earl of Mansfield, 305; his parting letter to Lord Camden, 306; his allusions to Lord Weymouth, iii. 73, 74; his accusation against the Duke of Grafton, 118; his opinion of the Marquis of Rockingham, 148.
- K.
- Kempenfeldt, Admiral, dispatched to intercept the French fleet intended for the West Indies, ii. 477.
- Kenyon, Mr. afterwards Lord, appointed attorney-general, iii. 17; his character, 18; his speech respecting the public right to demand interest on the balances of money retained by the accountants, 19; his personal appearance, 21; his inquiry into the balances of money in the hands of public accountants, iii. 139; his motion respecting Rigby and Welbore Ellis, 140; his speech respecting Powell and Bembridge, 419; Pitt's defence of him, 474; his speech on the land tax, 611.
- Keppel, Admiral, his reply to Sir Hugh Palliser, i. 386; character of, *ib.*; his oratorical talents, 285; elected member for Surrey, 286; his abilities, 287; rejected as member for Windsor, ii. 322; notice of his election for Surrey, *ib.*; Capt. Johnstone's remarks respecting, 325. 327; his defence of his conduct, 328; his improvements in the British navy, iii. 217; resigns the situation of first lord of the admiralty, 246.
- Kerr, Lord Mark, anecdote of, i. 139.
- Kingston, Duchess of, *see Chudleigh*.
- Kirkpatrick, Mr. his intimacy with Sir James Lowther, ii. 346.
- L.
- Langdale, Mr. destruction of his residence and warehouses in the riots in London, in 1780, i. 336, 337. 339.
- Land tax, debates respecting, iii. 611.
- Lansdowne, William Petty first Marquis, *see Shelburne*.
- Laurens, Ex-president of America, notice of his imprisonment in the Tower, ii. 275.
- Leczinska, Maria de, married to Louis XV. i. 86; anecdote of, 88.
- Lee, Mr. his accusations against Lord Shelburne, iii. 180. 276; his opinion of the bill to compel public accountants to deliver up their balances, 473.
- Lemon, Sir William, disapproves of the proposed union between Pitt and Fox, iii. 754.
- Lenox, Lord George, his high opinion of Lord Sackville, ii. 500.
- Lady Sarah, George III's partiality for, ii. 37.
- Leopold, Grand-duke, afterwards Emperor of Germany, remarks on his government of Florence, i. 283; his amusements, 284; his attachment to the Countess Cowper, 285; succeeds to the Austrian throne,

- i. 288; determines to renounce the alliance with Russia, 289; concludes peace with the Turks at Sistova, 290; sets on foot the interview of Pilitz, 291; crowned Emperor of Germany, 294; his doubts respecting the sincerity of the British government, 295; anecdote of, 297; his death, 298; supposed to have been poisoned, *ib.* 301.
- "Letter to the Electors of Aylesbury," remarks on Lord Sandwich in, ii. 182; iii. 673.
- Lewisham, Viscount, one of the commissioners appointed to administer the East India Company's affairs, iii. 546.
- Ligne, Prince de, remarks in his "Memoirs of Prince Eugene of Savoy," iii. 665.
- Lisbon, remarks on the court of, i. 17; earthquakes in, *ib.* 50. 57. 58; destruction of the public buildings in, 51; improved appearance of, 70.
- London, comparison between the society of, and that of Paris, i. 163; dissatisfaction in, (1779,) 318; riots in, (1780,) 333; tumults in, (1769,) ii. 82; exultation in, on the news of Rodney's victory over De Grasse, iii. 103.
- citizens of, petition parliament to terminate the American war, ii. 533; present an address to the king, iii. 719.
- Lorrain, annexed to France, i. 88.
- Duke of, see *Stanislaus*.
- Lorraine, Prince Charles, governor of the Austrian Netherlands, account of him, i. 317; his death, 318.
- Louis XV, King of France, his marriage with Maria Leczinska, i. 86; his acquisition of Lorrain, 88; his illness at Metz, 96; his popularity, 96; his conquests, *ib.* 101; accused of poisoning his son, 105; remarks on the latter years of his reign, 107; his provision for Madame du Barry, 110; account of his death, 111.
- Louis XVI, King of France, character of, i. 113; his talents, 114; his selection of his ministry, 115; remarks respecting him, 116; his courage, 119; his execution, 121; notice of his opinion of the American war, ii. 117; remarks respecting him, 429. 431; his reception of Pitt, iii. 487.
- Louis, Dauphin, son of Louis XV, his death, i. 104; his character, 105; account of his conversation with David Hume, 106.
- Loughborough, Lord, supports Lord North, ii. 308; his opinion of Rodney's victory over de Grasse, iii. 105, see *Wedderburn*.
- Louisa, Madame, daughter of Louis XV, her interview with him, i. 112.
- Louth, Dr. Bishop of London, refuses the Archbishopric of Canterbury, iii. 348.
- Lowther, Sir James, afterwards Earl of Lonsdale, his parliamentary influence, ii. 344; his character, *ib.*; his protection of Mr. Kirkpatrick, 347; his motion respecting the American war, 459; Junius's opinion of, iii. 293.
- Luttrell, Hon. Capt. John, his defence of Lord Sandwich, ii. 183.
- Col. afterwards Earl of Carhampton, his remarks on the affairs of Ireland, iii. 29.
- Lyttleton, Thomas second Lord, character of, i. 328. 332; his death, 329. 331.
- Lady, her belief in supernatural facts, i. 330.

M.

- Mackay, John Ross, his account of the money distributed to members, iii. 670.
- Macpherson, James, notice of his poems of Ossian, ii. 64.
- Macpherson, Sir John, Governor-general of Bengal, his account of the projected attack on Lord North's house in the riots in 1780, i. 342; sent to negotiate peace with the Mahrattas, iii. 284.
- Madre de Dios, church of, in Lisbon, i. 73.
- Madrid, Court of, their proceedings against England, ii. 106.
- Mafra, palace of, erected by John V, King of Portugal, i. 64.
- Mahon, Lord, his relation to Pitt, iii. 136; introduces a bill for preventing bribery at elections, 137; his attack

- upon Lord North's financial plans, iii. 446; his eccentricity, 757; his reply to Lord North, 761.
- Maine, Duchess de, literary entertainments given by, i. 170.
- Maitland, Viscount, afterwards Earl of Lauderdale, remarks on his speeches, ii. 341; his attachment to George III, 342; his speech respecting the public right to form associations, 391.
- Malagrida, Gabriel, an Italian Jesuit, imprisoned in the castle of St. Julien, i. 68; his execution 69.
- Manchester, George Montagu fourth Duke of, appointed ambassador at Paris, iii. 388.
- Mann, Sir Horace, his predilection for the House of Medicis, i. 280; his remarks respecting John Gaston, 281; protests his detestation of associations and committees, ii. 394.
- Mansfield, William Murray first Lord, chief justice, destruction of his residence in the riots of 1780, i. 335; remarks respecting, 357; character of him, ii. 302; Wilkes's accusations against him, 303; Junius's, 305, 307; disapproves of a dissolution, iii. 765.
- Mansfield, Mr. solicitor-general, his bill for the prevention of abuses of the Sabbath, ii. 244; his remarks respecting Fox and Burgoyne, 397; protests against the inquiry into Lord Sandwich's conduct, 487.
- Margaret, Queen of Navarre, remarks on her "Tales," i. 275.
- Maria Anne, daughter of King Joseph I, character of, i. 38.
- Maria, Benedicta, daughter of King Joseph I, character of, i. 39; married to the Prince of Beyra, 40.
- "Marriage Bill," debates respecting, ii. 417.
- Marianna Victoria, Queen of Portugal, her jealousy of her husband, i. 15; her hunting dress, 16; account of her marriage with King Joseph I, 34; her personal appearance, 35; her partiality for bull feasts, 45; attends the Italian Opera at Lisbon, 49.
- Maria Theresa, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, her death, i. 392; her character, *ib.*; account of her last moments, i. 394; her resignation, 396.
- Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, her remarks to the Duke of Dorset, i. 28; remarks respecting, 122; birth of her son, ii. 431; her reception of Pitt, iii. 487; her esteem for the Duke of Dorset, 616; her influence in the cabinet, *ib.*
- Markham, Dr. Archbishop of York, votes against the East India bill, iii. 590.
- Marlborough, Duke of, *see Churchill, John.*
- Duchess Dowager, her partiality for Dr. Moore, iii. 351.
- Marsham, Hon. Charles, one of the committee to procure a coalition between Pitt and Fox, iii. 731; accused of being a spy, 801.
- Martin, Mr. member for Tewkesbury, his speech respecting gaming-houses, ii. 244, 245; on the East India bill, iii. 579; Lord North's allusion to, 629.
- Mawbey, Sir Joseph, remarks respecting, i. 381.
- "Memoirs of Prince Eugene of Savoy," remarks in, iii. 665.
- Millar, Mr. anecdote of, i. 56.
- Minchin, Mr. member for Oakhampton, his motion relative to the condition of the navy, iii. 294.
- Minorca, remarks on the capture of, ii. 540.
- Milton, Joseph Damer first Lord, created Earl of Dorchester, account of him, iii. 684.
- Montagu, Frederick, his eulogium on the Marquis of Rockingham, iii. 146; character of, 160; one of the commissioners for administering the East India Company's affairs, 545.
- Mrs. parties given by, i. 144; her personal appearance, 146; her acquaintances, 147.
- Moore, Dr. John, Bishop of Bangor, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, iii. 349; account of him, 350; votes against the East India bill, 590.
- Mountmorres, Lord, his personal appearance, iii. 757; character, 758; Lord North's remarks respecting him, 761.
- Mulgrave, Constantine John Phipps

- second Lord, his opinion of Sir Edward Hawke, ii. 187; his defence of Lord Sandwich, 190; vindicates Admiral Kempenfeldt's expedition, 479; one of Lord Sandwich's defenders, 488; anecdote of him, 489; his remarks on Lord North, iii. 610; his charges against Fox, 745.
- Murray, Gen. his indignation against Lord George Gordon, i. 363.
- Musgrave, Dr. his assertion respecting the Princess Dowager of Wales and Lord Bute, ii. 68.
- Mutiny bill, debates on, iii. 781, 782.

N.

- Naples, remarks respecting the kingdom of, i. 262.
- King of, see *Ferdinand IV.*
- Queen of, see *Caroline, Archduchess of Austria.*
- Neapolitan Kings, remarks on their limited authority, i. 260.
- Navy, improvements in, i. 259.
- Neapolitans, their affection for Ferdinand IV, i. 260.
- Necker, M. remarks respecting, ii. 266, 282, 334; comparison between Lord North and him, 367.
- Nelson, Admiral Lord, notice of his victory before Copenhagen, i. 236.
- Newhaven, Lord, his indignation at Burke's correspondence with Dr. Franklin, ii. 276; his motion respecting Powell and Bembridge, iii. 422.
- Nicholson, Margaret, her attempt to assassinate George III, ii. 28.
- Nile, battle of the, notice of, iii. 105.
- North, Frederick Lord, his conduct during the riots in 1780, i. 343; state of the country under his government, ii. 2; his remark respecting George III, 27; his personal resemblance to him, 49, 124; appointed first minister, 87; his attempts to prevent a war with Spain, 107, 109; his ministerial capacity, 125; anecdotes of him, 127, 128; remarks on his talents for ridicule, 130, 131; on his oratory, 132, 133, 137; his conversation, 139; his administration, 140; his easy temper, 142; his minis-

terial firmness, ii. 144; notice of his resignation, *ib.*; his attachment to George III, 145; his family, 147; Fox's remarks respecting him, 208; Burke's ridicule of, 274; remarks on his administration, 318; announces the commencement of hostilities against Holland, 319; his reply to Burke, 320; to Fox's remarks on Keppel's rejection for Windsor, 322; his reason for Sir Hugh Palliser's resignation of his employments, 323; attack upon his financial measures, 359; inquiry into the loan borrowed by him, 360; his defence of that measure, 365; comparison between him and Necker, 362; Fox's invectives against, 373; his reply to them, *ib.*; attempts to weaken his support, 375; verses respecting his administration, 377; attempts to drive him from office, 389; Pitt's remarks on his character, 403; opposes the alteration of the marriage act, 419; his emotion on hearing of the surrender of the British forces at York Town, 435; justifies the principles of the American war, 446; his speeches respecting it, 461, 469; Pitt's allusion to his conversation with Welbore Ellis, 471; his procrastination, 182; his unpopularity, 484; denies the imputations against Lord Sandwich, 486; his protection of his lordship, 506; proposes an address to the crown for his removal from office, 520; proposes a loan, 522; repels Fox's accusations against him, 523; declares that ministers had renounced all intention to carry on the American war, 527; his reply to Conway's reproach, 528; his opinion of Conway's motion respecting the American war, 537; his speech in reply to Fox, 551, 553; desires to postpone the taxes, 555; his speech respecting his administration, 579; remarks on the conduct of the American war, 580; his allusion to Lord Sackville, 581; his wish for peace, 583; comparison between him and Wolsey, 585; Fox's apology to, 586; tenders his resignation, 595; his conversation with the king, 597;

- informs the house of his resignation, ii. 600; testimonies to his talents, 606; reasons for his resignation, 607; remarks respecting, iii. 2. 4; defends the pension granted to Mr. Robinson, 64; Fox's animadversions upon him, *ib.*; remarks on his retirement, 100; his speech respecting Rodney's victory, 121; his opinion of his supersedure, 129. 131; assertions respecting his conduct during the American war, 185; his situation on the opening parliament in 1782, 223; his speech, 224; reproves Burke for his attack on the king's speech, 225; his remarks on the peace with America, 226; on Fox, 227; on the proposed cession of Gibraltar to Spain, 234; on the production of the provisional treaty with America, 241; his popularity, 245; remarks respecting him, 250; his instructions to Mr. Macpherson, 283; his preservation of the British constitution, 290; his reply to Sir Cecil Wray, 291; meetings and associations during his administration, 292; remarks on his union with Fox, 308. 311; Pitt's observations respecting him, 323; his reply, 324; his encomiums on Fox, 326; his defence of his coalition with him, 360; his declaration respecting Jenkinson, 361; opinions respecting his union with Fox, 371. 376; appointed secretary of state for the Home Department, 378; comparisons respecting him, 388, 389; remarks on his proposed elevation to the peerage, 391; his reply to Pitt, 392; his speech on Parliamentary Reform, 406; his reply to Pitt, 435; comparison between him and Lord Shelburne, 438; his reply to Lord Mahon, 447; to Pitt's censures, 459; his reply to the remarks on the alienations of public money, 463; supports the East India bill, 555; Wilkes's remarks on him, 576; delivers up the seals of his office, 607; his eulogiums on Fox, 627; allusion to Mr. Martin, 629; corruption of parliament during his administration, 674; his support while first minister, 681; his reply to Powis, iii. 708; his desire for the general public welfare, 748; his reply to Pitt, 749; his remarks on the inhabitants of Banbury's address to the king, 750; his description of the meetings of the inhabitants of Westminster, 760; his speech on the mutiny bill, 782.
- North, Col. son of the preceding, one of the commissioners for administering the East India Company's affairs, iii. 546.
- Hon. George Augustus, afterwards fourth Earl of Guilford, negotiates the coalition between Lord North and Fox, iii. 260.
- Northington, Robert Henley second Earl of, his character as lord lieutenant of Ireland, iii. 388.
- Norton, Sir Fletcher, the king's refusal to permit his re-election as speaker, i. 372; character of, 393; notice of his elevation to the peerage, 375; created Lord Grantley, iii. 15.
- Nugent, Lord, created an Irish Earl, i. 130; character of, 131; anecdotes of, 134, 135; his intimacy with Prince Frederick, 137; presents verses to Queen Charlotte, *ib.* his family, 138; opposes the bill for the reform of the king's household, ii. 338; anecdote of, iii. 28; his speech respecting the American loyalists, 253; account of the coalition between him and Fox, 260; his somnolency, 262; his speech on the American Treaty, 268; his account of the reconciliation of Lord Granville and Mr. Pelham, 772.

O.

- Ogilvie, Mr. account of, i. 265.
- Onslow, George, one of the representatives of Guilford, accuses the opposition of favouring the insurrection of the American colonies, ii. 578.
- Orange, Prince of, see *William V, Stadtholder of Holland.*
- Prince Frederick of, his death, i. 179; character, 180.
- Princess of, her reception in England, i. 178; her grief for the death of her son, 180.

- Orde, Thomas, one of the secretaries of the treasury, Dundas's encomiums on, iii. 162.
- Orleans, Philip, Duke of, regent of France, during Louis XV's minority, i. 77; character of him, 78; his talents, 79; death, *ib.*; remarks respecting him, 126; his detestation of Marie Antoinette, i. 27.
- Orloff, Alexis, afterwards Prince, his favour with the Empress Catherine, i. 191; account of his entrapping the supposed daughter of the Empress Elizabeth, 194. 198.
- Orvilliers, M. d', commander of the French and Spanish fleets, i. 319.
- Osborn, Mr. English minister at Dresden, anecdote of, i. 185.
- P.
- Palliser, Sir Hugh, appointed governor of Greenwich Hospital, i. 377. 383; elected member for Huntingdon, 384; his reply to Fox's declamations against him, *ib.*; remarks on his naval talents, 385; debates respecting his appointment as governor of Greenwich Hospital, ii. 321; remarks on his resignation of his employments, 323; his defence, 329; his justification of Lord Sandwich, iii. 296.
- Paris, comparison between the society of, and that of London, i. 163; antiquity of literary meetings in, 168.
- Parker, Admiral, his engagement with Zoutman in the North Sea, ii. 424; visited by King George III, at the Nore, 425.
- Parliament, prorogation of, iii. 187; comparisons between the sessions of, 1781 and 1782, 216; re-opening of, 218; corruption of, 674, 675. 677, 678.
- Parliamentary reform, Pitt's proposition for, iii. 392. 402.
- Paul, Grand-duke of Russia, afterwards Emperor, his marriage with the Princess of Hesse Darmstadt, i. 203; with the Princess Sophia of Wirtemberg, 207; proceeds to Berlin, 208; the King of Prussia's reception of, *ib.*; anecdotes of his attachment to the Grand-duchess, 210.
- Pedro, Don, character of, i. 43; notice of his death, 44.
- Pedro II, King of Portugal, character of, i. 62. 64.
- Pelham, Mr. remarks on his administration, iii. 668.
- Perceval, Hon. Mr. Charles George, proposes an address to the king, ii. 455.
- Percy, Lord Algernon, his bravery at the riots in 1780, i. 351.
- Pigot, Admiral, his reason for his irritation against Lord Sandwich, ii. 507; sent to supersede Admiral Rodney in the West Indies, iii. 117; remarks respecting him, 133.
- Pilnitz, Treaty of, i. 291, 292.
- Piozzi, Mrs. *see* Thrula.
- Pitt, Mr. afterwards Earl of Chatham, remarks on his talents, ii. 59.
- Mr. Thomas, his speech on equality of representation, iii. 83; protests against Fox's doctrines, 93; approves of the proposed parliamentary reform, 400; his speech respecting, 404; his relationship to Mr. William Pitt, 401; recommends an appeal to the electors throughout the kingdom, 442; his speech on the state of the country, 445; his speech respecting Lord Sandwich, 511; character of his oratory, 521; his opinion of the East India bill, 571; created Lord Camelford, 692.
- Pitt, Right Hon. William, remarks respecting, i. 292; approves of the Emperor Leopold's views, 294; the King's partiality for, ii. 32; his speech on the bill for reforming the king's household, 333, 339; remarks on his first appearance, 335, 336; opinions respecting him, 342; his reception at Brooke's club, 343; representative for Appleby, 344; his intimacy with the Duke of Rutland, 346; interest to procure his election for Appleby, 347; his talents, 349; his popularity, 351; his remarks respecting the commissioners of accounts for the House of Commons, 403; his speeches respecting the American war, 408, 447; his respect for the king shown in his speeches, 457; character of his oratory, 521; his elevated views

ii. 575 ; his reproaches on ministers, 589 ; refuses any situation during the Marquis of Rockingham's administration, iii. 23 ; appoints George Selwyn surveyor-general of the crown lands, 63 ; his speech respecting elections, 81 ; proposes the appointment of a committee for inquiring into the state of national representation, 85 ; remarks on his political opinions, 98 ; approves of the bill for preventing bribery at elections, 137 ; his admiration of Fox's eloquence, *ib.* ; character of his private life, 144 ; peers created by him, 149 ; appointed chancellor of the exchequer, 159 ; his accusations against Fox, 176 ; comparison between Fox and him, 177 ; his defence of Lord Shelburne, 222 ; refuses to sit in the cabinet with Lord North, 250 ; his eminent talents, 251 ; altercation between him and Sheridan, 273 ; his institution of the sinking fund, 303 ; his speech respecting Fox's union with Lord North, 316 ; effect of his quotations, 317 ; his address to Fox, 319 ; his comparison respecting the British empire in 1763 and 1783, 320 ; his remarks respecting the Earl of Shelburne, 322 ; concerning Lord North, 323 ; remarks on his conduct to the Earl of Shelburne, 332 ; refuses to act with Lord North, 336 ; Powis's encomiums on him, 337 ; offer to receive him into the coalition, 362 ; his reply, 364 ; resigns his office, 367 ; his political opinions, 370 ; his projected motion for parliamentary reform, 392 ; his imputations against Fox, 396, 398 ; his address on the subject of parliamentary reform, 400 ; his relation to Mr. Thomas Pitt, 401 ; character of his parliamentary reform, 402 ; his remarks on ministers, 434 ; on Lord North's taxes, 447 ; comparison between him and Fox, 448 ; his bill for regulating public offices, 454, 456 ; his censures upon Lord North, 458 ; his remarks on the alienations of the public money, 463 ; on the proposed grant to the Prince of Wales, 466 ; his defence of Kenyon, 474 ;

his proposed address to the king, iii. 475 ; visits the continent, 486 ; presented to Louis XVI, 487 ; his opinion of the proposed address to the king, 536 ; speeches on the East India bill, 542, 555 ; his declaration concerning, 574 ; appointed first lord of the treasury, 607 ; remarks on his appointment, 608 ; opposes a dissolution, 609, 634 ; his personal appearance, 635 ; his character, 636 ; his love of wine, 639 ; anecdote of him, 640 ; his acquaintances, 642 ; his classical knowledge, 644 ; his parliamentary career, 645 ; comparison between his oratory and Fox's, 647 ; his want of economy, 649, 652 ; appointed Lord Warden of the cinque ports, 663 ; his debts, 654 ; his judgment, 655 ; his conduct respecting the regency, 657 ; regularity of his private life, 659 ; his attempt to reduce Fox's majority in the commons, 662 ; seeks the support of Lord Sackville, 683, 687 ; raises Mr. Thomas Pitt to the peerage, 692 ; appoints Col. Barré to the clerkship of the pells in the Exchequer, 695 ; his reply to the attacks upon him, 703 ; Sir Richard Hill's comparison, concerning him, 716 ; his East India bill, 719 ; his secrecy respecting his parliamentary intentions, 722 ; his personal danger, 725 ; plan to reconcile him with Fox, 729, 732 ; his opinion of it, 730 ; his speeches respecting, 735, 740, 745 ; his allusion to Lord North, 749 ; informs the house of the king's determination to retain ministers, 753 ; refuses to resign, 755 ; his allusions to Fox's declining popularity, 762 ; Fox's remarks on him, 768 ; his reply, 769 ; his reflections upon Fox, 774, 776 ; Powis's accusations against him, 793 ; description of his followers, 795 ; his reply, 796 ; suppositions respecting him, 798, 799, 800 ; accuses Powis and Marham of acting as spies, 801 ; reflections respecting him, 809 ; his services to the king, 813.

Pitt, Lady Harriet, notice of her marriage with Mr. Eliot, iii. 161. 652.

- Podotski, Count, his danger in his journey from Vienna to Cracow, i. 277.
- Countess, her beauty, i. 276.
- Pope, Mr. his intimacy with Frederick Prince of Wales, ii. 5.
- Pombal, Marquis de, see *Carvalho Sebastian, Joseph*.
- Portland, William Henry Cavendish Bentinck eighth Duke of, resigns the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, iii. 163; his interview with the king, 346. 374. 377; appointed first lord of the treasury, 378; his opinion of Pitt's bill of regulation, 457; his conversation with the king respecting Mr. Beilby Thompson, 529.
- Portsmouth, Duchess of, her account of Charles I.'s execution, iii. 58.
- Portugal, kings of, see *Alphonso VI, John IV, John V, Joseph I, Pedro II*.
- state prisons in, i. 68.
- Portuguese, improvement of under King Joseph I. i. 22; their vindictive character, 69.
- Potemkin, his conquests over the Turks, i. 289; his conduct towards the Emperor Leopold, 290.
- Poulett, Hon. Mr. remarks respecting him in "The Rolliad," iii. 49.
- Powell, Mr. accusations against him, iii. 417; restored to his situation in the pay office, *ib.*; his resignation, 428; his suicide, 430.
- Powis, Mr. his accusations against Lord North, ii. 140; his opinion of Lord Stormont, 153; his citation from Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," 461; his speech respecting Lord North, 558; his comparison between ministers and the principal members of opposition, 560; his speech on the bill for reducing the civil list, iii. 44; his opinion of the American treaty, 286; his impartiality, 287; his declamations on Fox's union with Lord North, 310; his remarks concerning Earl Shelburne, 336; concerning Pitt, 337; his speech on parliamentary reform, 403; his speech on the East India bill, 563; remarks on Fox, 565; his remarks on Pitt's acquaintances, 642; on Lord North, 707; his opinion of the proposed coalition of Pitt and Fox, iii. 266, 730; one of the committee to procure it, 731; approves of an adjournment, 753; his reflections on Pitt, 755, 793; his description of Pitt's followers, 795.
- Prado, Count de, King Joseph I.'s regard for, i. 50.
- Pré, Governor du, his interview with Hyder Ally, iii. 496.
- Prie, Marchioness de, her interview with Mademoiselle de Sens, i. 83.
- Priestley, Dr. patronised by the Earl of Shelburne, ii. 315.
- Provence, Count de, character of, i. 124.
- Russia, King of, see *Frederick William*.
- Pulteney, Mr. character of, iii. 698; his speech on the proposed dissolution, 699.
- Miss, afterwards Countess of Bath, Fox's attachment to, iii. 660.

Q.

- Queensberry, Charles Duke of, one of the favourites of Frederick Prince of Wales, ii. 49; his conversation with George III. iii. 484.
- Querouaille, Mademoiselle, remarks respecting her, ii. 312.

R.

- Rambouillet, Marchioness of, literary societies at her residence, i. 169.
- Rawdon, Francis Lord, afterwards Marquis of Hastings, demands satisfaction for the Duke of Richmond's imputations against him, ii. 500.
- Raynal, Abbé, character of, i. 160.
- Richmond, Charles Lennox seventh Duke of, his character, ii. 311; his activity in parliament, 312; his speech respecting Lord George Germain's conduct at Minden, 499; his declaration respecting Lord Rawdon, 500; order of the garter conferred upon him, iii. 71; his opinion of the right of voting, 82; his remarks on Lord North's proposed elevation to the peerage, 391; his reflections upon Fox, 594; his encomiums on Pitt, 765.

- Rigby, Mr. paymaster of the forces, supports administration, *ii.* 212; Sheridan's remarks respecting, 213; his personal appearance, 214; his oratory, 215; his complimentary speech to Mr. Fox, 243; his ridicule of Sheridan, 300; his assertion respecting the American colonies, 412; his testimony in favour of Powell and Bembridge, 429; opposes an appeal to the electors throughout the kingdom, 443; his speech respecting Lord North and Lord George Germain, 473; imputations against him, 520; his opinion of the motion of "declaring enemies to their country all who should advise the king to continue the war with America," 542; remark in his speech, 544; Pitt's attack upon it, 545; his speech on Lord North's resignation, 602; ridicules the motion for shortening the duration of parliaments, *iii.* 95; remarks on his political talents, 102; balance of public money in his possession, 139; declared accountable for, 140; his pecuniary embarrassments, 195; his connexion with Rumbold, 196; his speech on parliamentary reform, 414; his speech relative to the proceedings against Rumbold, 450; his reflections on Pitt, 785.
- Riots in London in 1780, account of, *i.* 333. 335. 337; computation of the killed and wounded, 348. 350; precautions to conceal the damages, 351; consultations respecting, 356.
- Roberts, Mr. his remarks on Mr. Pelham's administration, *iii.* 668.
- Robinson, Mr. one of the secretaries of the treasury, description of him, *ii.* 225; his employments, *ib.*; his activity, 226; censures upon the pension granted to, *iii.* 63. 66; joins Pitt, 664.
- Rockingham, Charles Watson Wentworth seventh Marquis of, reproaches ministers for their negligence in the riots of 1780, *i.* 354; his conduct as first lord of the treasury, *ii.* 310; appointed first minister, *iii.* 8; hurt by the king's preference of Lord Shelburne, 11; solicits a peerage for Sir Fletcher Norton, *iii.* 14; his illness, 145; death, 146; eulogiums on him, *ib.* 147; Junius's character of, 148.
- Rodney, Admiral Lord, remarks respecting, *i.* 323; character of, 324; his pecuniary embarrassments, 325; appointed to command the expedition for the West Indies, 326; his victory over de Grasse, *ib.*; remarks on his treatment of the inhabitants of St. Eustatius, *ii.* 398. 400; his victory over de Grasse, 609; *iii.* 103. 107; his reason for not pursuing the enemy, 109; his remarks on the spirit of party and faction in his fleet, 110; criticisms on his letter to the secretary of the admiralty, 111; assertions respecting, 112; his coolness during the action with de Grasse, 113; superseded by Admiral Pigot, 117; created a baronet, 120; thanks of the House of Commons voted to, 121. 127; public dissatisfaction at his recall, 127; returns home, 133.
- Rolle, Mr. his inquiries respecting Rodney's supersedure, *iii.* 122; moves an address to the king respecting him, 123, 124; his opinion of his supersedure, 127; his motion respecting Powell and Bembridge, 426. 428.
- "Rolliad," allusion in to the Speaker Cornwall, *i.* 375; to Sir Joseph Mawbey, 382; to Mr. Poulett, *iii.* 49.
- Rosenhagen, Rev. Philip, accused of being the author of "Junius's Letters," *ii.* 94; character of, 95.
- Ross, Gen. his accusations against the Earl of Galloway, *iii.* 714.
- Rous, Sir John, moves to declare that "the House has no further confidence in ministers," *ii.* 577.
- Royal George, account of the loss of, *iii.* 201, 203.
- Rumbold, Sir Thomas, late governor of Madras, accusations against, *iii.* 75; his contrivance to elude punishment, 77; accusations against him, 190; bill for inflicting pains and penalties on him, 191; his personal appearance, 193; his connexion with Rigby, 196; remarks on his extrication from the proceedings against him, 197; proceedings

- against, iii. 449 ; his address to the house, 451 ; termination of the prosecution, 452.
- Russia, remarks on the Imperial family of, i. 206.
- Grand-duke of, see *Paul*.
- Grand-duchesses of, see *Wilhelmina Princess of Hesse Darmstadt*; and *Wirttemberg, Princess Sophia* of.
- Rutland, Charles Manners fourth Duke of, his intimacy with Mr. William Pitt, ii. 346 ; interests himself to procure him a seat in parliament, 347 ; remarks respecting him, iii. 84.
- Ryder, Sir Dudley, accusations against, ii. 418.

S.

- Sackville, George first Viscount, his intimacy with Lord Mark Kerr, i. 139 ; see *Germain Lord George*.
- Sackvilles, family of the, account of, iii. 506.
- St. Christopher, attacked by the French, ii. 608 ; surrender of, iii. 78.
- St. Eustatius, capture of the island of, ii. 398, 424.
- St. Julien, castle of, number of prisoners in, (1772,) i. 68.
- St. Kitts, island of, report respecting the capture of, ii. 540.
- St. Vincent, Lord, notice of his victory at Cape St. Vincent, iii. 105.
- Sandwich, John Montagu Earl of, character of, ii. 180 ; his conduct as first lord of the admiralty, 186, 187 ; accusations against him, 189, 190 ; remarks respecting, 477, 478 ; inquiry into his conduct as first lord of the admiralty, 486. 502 ; his speech respecting Lord George Germain's court-martial, 497 ; his unpopularity, 504 ; his improvements in the navy, 505 ; reported offer made to him, 507 ; rejects it, 508 ; appointed ranger of the parks, iii. 384.
- Savile, Sir George, his residence plundered in the riots of 1780, i. 341 ; representative for York, character of, ii. 288 ; his speech respecting the loan borrowed by Lord North, ii. 369 ; his apprehensions respecting America, iii. 150 ; his language on presenting the York petition to the House of Commons, 292 ; his remarks on the corruption of Parliament, 677.
- Sawbridge, Alderman, his censure of the pension granted to Mr. Robinson, iii. 63 ; his speech respecting, 66 ; his motion for shortening the duration of parliaments, 95 ; his speech on the corruption of parliament, 676.
- Saxe, Marshal, his military reputation, i. 97 ; his establishment at Chambord, 98 ; his overtures to Mademoiselle Chantilly, 99 ; his death, 100.
- Sydney, Lord, see *Townsend, Thomas*.
- Scott, Mr. (afterwards Lord Eldon), his speech on the East India bill, iii. 560 ; his comparison respecting Fox, 562.
- Sebastian, Prince, remarks respecting, i. 72.
- Selwyn, George, his opinion of the bill for the reduction of the civil list, iii. 54 ; remarks respecting him, 55 ; his wit, 56 ; his remarks respecting George I. and II. 59 ; anecdote of him, 62 ; appointed surveyor-general of the crown lands, 63.
- Sheffield, Lord, see *Holroyd, Col.*
- Shelburne, Earl of, his parliamentary capacity, ii. 313 ; political discussions at his residence, 314 ; his protection to Dr. Priestley, 315 ; his conversation, *ib.* ; insinuations respecting him, 316 ; his abilities, 483 ; his conference with the king, iii. 7 ; refuses the ministry, 8 ; the king's partiality for, 9 ; named a secretary of state, 11 ; solicits a barony for Dunning, 12 ; receives the order of the garter, 71 ; his letter addressed to the magistrates of the principal cities in the kingdom, 89 ; his advances to Mr. Pitt, 144 ; introduces a bill for regulating appointments in the West Indies and America, 150 ; first lord of the treasury, 157 ; Fox's imputations against, 170. 172. 174 ; Gen. Conway's defence of, 175 ; invectives

- against, iii. 179, 180 ; imputes the pension granted to Barré to Lord Rockingham, *ib.* ; his insinuations against Fox, 182 ; notice of his courage, 184 ; caricatures respecting him, 186 ; his political capabilities, 198 ; Fox's remarks respecting him, 221 ; Pitt's defence of him, 222 ; accused of insincerity and duplicity, 229 ; rumours respecting, 231 ; his overtures to Fox, 254 ; regrets the loss of America, 288 ; Pitt's encomiums on him, 322 ; his resignation, 331 ; anecdote respecting him, 333 ; created Marquis of Lansdowne, 334 ; comparison between him and Lord North, 438.
- Sheridan, Richard Brinsley, his speech respecting Rigby, ii. 213, 216 ; his attack upon administration, 246 ; complains of the bribery at elections, 299 ; account of his first reception in parliament, 352 ; reproves Courtenay for his mirth, 354 ; his speech respecting the interference of an armed force in suppressing the riots of 1780, 355, 356 ; his invocation to the admirals in the House of Commons, 506 ; his speech respecting the secretary for Ireland, iii. 33 ; his exhortation to Pitt, 253 ; account of the altercation between him and Pitt, 273 ; appointed secretary to the treasury, 388 ; his reply to Scott's comparisons concerning Mr. Fox, 562 ; supports the East India bill, 585 ; his retort upon Pitt, 644 ; his speech on Fox's union with Lord North, 742.
- Shovel, Sir Cloudesley, notice of his shipwreck on the Scilly Islands, iii. 202.
- Sinking fund, instituted by Mr. William Pitt, iii. 303.
- Smith, Captain, his opinion of the charge against Lord George Germain, ii. 172.
- Gen. Richard, appointed chairman of the committee to examine the state of the court of Bengal, ii. 381.
- Sophia, Princess, statement respecting, i. 313 ; her letters to the court of St. Germain, 314 ; her relation to James II. 315.
- Stanhope, Mr. Walter, his remarks on Burke, iii. 329.
- Stanislaus, King of Poland, remarks respecting, i. 80 ; marriage of his daughter with Louis XV, 86 ; his advice to her, 88 ; created Duke of Lorraine, 90 ; his attachment to the Marchioness de Boufflers, 91 ; account of his death, 93.
- State Prisons in Portugal, number of prisoners in, (1772,) i. 68.
- Stevens, Mr. secretary of the admiralty, Rodney's letter to, iii. 111.
- Stewart, Hon. Keith, his defence of Lord Galloway, iii. 714 ; censures on his conduct during the war with Holland, 716.
- Stormont, Lord, secretary of state, character of, ii. 153 ; appointed president of the council, iii. 378 ; his reflections on Pitt, 765.
- Strasburgh, executioner of, story respecting, i. 271.
- Stuart family, misfortunes of, i. 302.
- Suffrein, Admiral, attempts to compel the English squadron to abandon the coast of Coromandel, iii. 212.
- Surrey, Earl of, his remarks on Gen. Arnold's appearance at court, ii. 536 ; seconds the proposed petition to the king to form an administration, iii. 355.

T.

- Tarantella, an Apulian dance, i. 235 ; remarks respecting, 237.
- Tarrakanoff, account of the seizure of the supposed princess of, i. 192. 194. 197. 199 ; supposition respecting her, 201.
- Tavora, Marquis de, his conspiracy to assassinate King Joseph I. i. 25 ; executed, 30.
- Marchioness, conducts the conspiracy to assassinate King Joseph I. i. 27 ; her execution, 30 ; her revengeful character, *ib.*
- Temple, Lord, character of, i. 127 ; disliked by George II, 128.
- Earl, appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland, iii. 163.
- Thompson, Mr. Beilby, proposal to confer the order of the garter upon him, iii. 527 ; the king's refusal, 529. 531.

Thrale, Mr. his remark respecting Dr. Johnson, i. 153.

— Mrs. (afterwards Mrs. Piozzi) her opinion of Dr. Johnston, i. 154; her talents, 158.

Thurlow, Edward Lord, his parliamentary abilities, ii. 195; personal appearance, 196; Fox's opinion of him, 197; his defects, 199; his conversation, 200, 201; remarks respecting him, iii. 50. 136; Fox's attack upon him, 340. 342; his advice to the king, 353; charges against him, 357; his opinion of the East India bill, 526. 593; appointed chancellor, 612.

Tollemache, Lady Bridget, George III.'s reported attachment to, ii. 42.

Tour and Taxis, Prince of, *see Charles Anselm*.

— Princess of, *see Augusta Elizabeth*.

Townsend, George first Marquis, placed at the head of the ordinance, iii. 382; anecdote of, *ib*.

— Charles, created Lord Bayning, iii. 384.

— John, afterwards Lord, character of his speeches, ii. 341.

— Thomas, moves a vote of thanks to Sir Fletcher Norton, i. 379; his remarks on Lord North, ii. 130; appointed a member of the privy council, 291; his remarks respecting Mr. Atkinson, 368; his opinion respecting the American war, 406; of the loan proposed by Lord North, 524; appointed secretary at war, iii. 17; his defence of the American treaty, 265; his encomiums on Lord John Cavendish, 312; created Lord Sydney, 341.

Trafalgar, notice of the battle of, iii. 105.

Trapaud, Gen. Cyrus, promoted by George II, ii. 55.

Tschisme, victory of, notice of, i. 205.

Turner, Charles, accepts a baronetcy from the Marquis of Rockingham, iii. 24; character of, 25; his comparison respecting the House of Commons, 84; his reply to Rigby, 98; his remarks respecting Lord North, 310; his opinion of Fox's coalition with him, 329.

V.

Van Burkel, signs a treaty with the American insurgents, i. 391.

Vaughan, General, remarks on his treatment of the island of St. Eustatius, ii. 398. 400. 424.

Verney, Earl, his connexion with Mr. Burke, ii. 270.

Vesey, Mrs. entertainments given by, i. 148; anecdote of, 149.

Ville de Paris, loss of the, iii. 205.

W.

Wales, George, Prince of, *see George II*.

— Frederick, Prince of, his death, ii. 46; his favourites, 49; his attachment to Lady Archibald Hamilton, 50; his character, 51.

— George, Prince of, income bestowed on, iii. 465; character of, 532; his preference for Fox's party, 535; remarks on Lord North, 576; on Fox, 577; supports the East India bill, 591; remarks on his attendance in the House of Commons, 710. 712. 717, 718.

— Princess, Dowager of, her precautions to prevent access to George III. ii. 40; accusation against, 68; remarks respecting her, 72, 73; her death, 110.

Wallace, his death, iii. 499.

Walpole, Hon. Horace, votes for Mr. Fox at the Westminster election, ii. 250.

— Sir Robert, remarks on his Administration, iii. 666.

Washington, General, remarks respecting, ii. 114.

Wedderburn, Mr. afterwards Lord Loughborough and Earl of Rosslyn, his opinion of the power of the military to disperse rioters, i. 356; character of, ii. 97; supposed author of "Junius's Letters," 98; Churchill's description of him in one of his "Satires," 308; Fox's reprobations of his conduct, 309; his talents, *ib*. See *Loughborough*.

West Indies, hurricane in, in 1780, i. 367.

Weymouth, Thomas Thynne third Viscount, appointed Groom of

